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PRIVATE LETTERS

OF

SIR JAMES BROOKE, K.C.B.

LONDON :

**PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET
AND CHARING CROSS.**

THE
PRIVATE LETTERS
OF
SIR JAMES BROOKE, K.C.B.
RAJAH OF SARAWAK,
NARRATING
THE EVENTS OF HIS LIFE,
FROM 1838 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

EDITED BY
JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.
BARRISTER-AT-LAW, AND ONE OF THE MASTERS OF HER MAJESTY'S COURT
OF EXCHEQUER.

Nescio, quod certe est, quod me tibi temperat astrum.—PERSIUS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.
1853.

[The Author and Publisher reserve to themselves the right of
Translating this Work.]

210. d. 58.



TO VICE-ADMIRAL SIR JAMES GORDON, K.C.B.

GOVERNOR OF GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

MY DEAR SIR JAMES,

I KNOW it will be most grateful to Sir James Brooke, that these Volumes of his Letters should be dedicated to you; and in thus associating your name with that of the Friend whose extraordinary career you have watched with so warm an interest, I am prompted by those feelings of affection, gratitude, and friendship, which so deeply bind me to you both.

Believe me,

My dear Sir James,

Your ever affectionate Son-in-Law,

JOHN C. TEMPLER.

HATCHAM LODGE, NEW CROSS;
DECEMBER 1, 1853.



P R E F A C E.

I AM aware of the responsibility, that attaches in making public a private Correspondence, and how rarely it should be attempted, until the chief actors have passed from the scene. I trust, however, to stand acquitted in the present instance, for the following reasons :

Sir James Brooke was my early and intimate friend, from whose society I have derived the greatest possible advantage, and to whose friendship and example, I attribute much of my success in life. When the outcry was raised against him in 1849, I knew how false it was, and it was my duty, in his absence, to point the defence in the right direction, and to trace the calumny to its source. It was during this period, Sir James Brooke suggested the propriety of pub-

lishing his Letters, and forwarded to me those to his mother, leaving it in my discretion to lay them before the public, either then, or at any future time. Partly from want of leisure, but more from a natural reluctance to break the seal of so intimate a correspondence, for the sake, merely, of refuting Mr. Hume and the Directors of the Eastern Archipelago Company, I at that time refrained; and the large majorities of the House of Commons, on three successive occasions, in Sir James Brooke's favour; the strong voice of public opinion out of doors; and the approval and confidence of Lord John Russell's Government, and afterwards, of that of Lord Derby, appeared sufficient to justify the course that had been taken, and to render nothing further necessary. When, however, the pertinacity of Mr. Hume obtained from the present Ministry, their consent to a Commission of Inquiry, under circumstances, that on the part of some members of the Cabinet, implied at least a distrust in Sir James Brooke; and when this was followed by Lord Clarendon's Letter of Instructions to Lord Dalhousie, to appoint Commissioners, conceived in such a spirit, and containing such statements, as evinced a feeling

even deeper than distrust; I felt I ought no longer to withhold a Correspondence which, from its intrinsic truthfulness, must carry conviction; and by showing the actions, feelings, and opinions of Sir James Brooke, during his career in Borneo, as given in all the confidence of friendship, enable his countrymen to judge between him and his defamers.

It may be proper here to correct a misapprehension which has got abroad—occasioned, perhaps, by the tenor of Sir John Pakington's letter to Sir James Brooke, relieving him of the Governorship of Labuan—that a want of confidence was shown him by the late Administration. The case, however, was quite the reverse. The reduction of the establishment at Labuan, which involved Sir James Brooke's retirement from the Governorship, met with his approval under the then circumstances of the settlement; but, so far from evincing any distrust, the late Ministry expressed their continued confidence, by appointing him, as a part of the same arrangement, to a high ministerial office in the Indian Archipelago, which, by the real power it conferred, was completely in accordance with

his wishes ; and the formalities were all but complete, when Lord Derby's Ministry retired from office, and their successors refused to confirm the appointment.

Although deeply sensible of their kindness, I need not express my thanks to the relatives and friends, who have so materially assisted me with the letters addressed to them—our object has been a common one.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to say, that never were letters written with more apparent facility (whole pages of the originals without a correction), or laid before the public with a more entire unreserve.

J. C. T.

Hatcham Lodge, New Cross ;
December 1, 1853.

PRIVATE LETTERS

OF

SIR JAMES BROOKE, K.C.B.

CHAPTER I.

DECEMBER 7, 1838, TO JANUARY 2, 1839.

No. 1.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Royal Hotel, Devonport,
December 7, 1838.

MY DEAR JACK,

THE wind is fair, and I write to bid you farewell. Dear friend, farewell, may all happiness and good fortune attend you during my absence. Write to me. Watch me! I need not say how much of affectionate feeling I have for you,—how deeply sensible I am of your friendship and watchful kindness, and how amid all changes and chances, it will survive till I survive no more, or till we meet again.

Yours, dear friend, with kindest regards to Prior*
and your sister,

Very affectionately,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. Kell† left me yesterday, he saw two shipwrecks.

* A brother-in-law of the editor. † A brother of the editor.

Margaret* wants you to send her my paper on Borneo : if not copied, the one in your possession. Again and again, adieu.

Yours, ever,
J. B.

The paper referred to in the postscript, was written by Sir James (then Mr.) Brooke, before he left England, in 1838, and is so explicit as to the objects of the expedition, and so explanatory of many passages in the letters, that no apology is considered necessary for introducing it here. It is taken from the original MSS. in the editor's possession, and has never yet appeared as a whole. A brief abstract of it was published in the *Journal of the Geographical Society*, in 1838, vol. viii., p. 443.

Mr. Brooke's Expedition to Borneo.

BORNEO (in the language of the natives Bruni), Celebes, Sulu, the Moluccas, and the islands of the Straits of Sunda and Banca, compose what is commonly called the Malayan group, and the Malays located on the sea shores, of these and other islands, may, with certainty be classed as belonging to one nation.

It is well known however, that the interior of these countries is inhabited by various tribes, differing from

* A sister of Sir James Brooke.

the Malays and each other, and presenting numerous gradations of imperfect civilization.

The Dyaks of Borneo, the Arafuras of New Guinea, and others, besides the black race scattered over the islands (objects here as elsewhere, of traffic,) present an interesting field of inquiry; and it is surprising, whilst our acquaintance with every other portion of the globe, from the passage of the Pole to the navigation of the Euphrates, has greatly extended, we know scarcely anything of these varieties of the human race beyond the bare fact of their existence,* and remain extremely ignorant of the geographical features of the countries they inhabit.

Countries which present an extended field for Christianity and commerce—which none surpass in fertility—rich beyond the Americas in mineral productions, and unrivalled in natural beauty, yet continue unexplored, and spite of the advantages which would probably result, have failed to attract the attention they so well deserve. The difficulty of the undertaking will scarcely account for its non-performance; if we consider the voluntary sacrifices made on the shrine of African research, or the energy displayed, and the sufferings encountered by the explorers of the Polar regions, yet the necessity of prosecuting the voyage in an armed vessel, the wildness of the interior tribes, the lawless ferocity of the Malays, and the dangers to be ap-

* See Raffles and Prichard.

prehended from the jealousy of the Dutch, would prevent most individuals from fixing on this field for their exertions, and points it out as one which can only be fully accomplished by Government, or some influential body.

It is not my object to enter into any detail of the past history of the Malayan nations, but I may refer to the undoubted fact that they have been in a state of deterioration since we first became acquainted with them ; and the records of our early voyagers together with the remains of antiquity still visible in Java and Sumatra, prove that once flourishing nations have now ceased to exist, and countries once teeming with human life, are now tenantless and deserted. The causes of such lamentable changes need only be alluded to, but it is fit to remark that whilst the clamour about education is loud, and extravagant dreams are entertained of the progressive advancement of the human race—a large tract of the globe has been gradually relapsing, and allowed to relapse, into barbarism.

Whether the early decay of the Malay states and their consequent demoralization, arose from the introduction of Mahomedanism, or resulted from the intrigues of European ambition, it were useless to discuss ; but we are very certain that the policy of the Dutch has, at the present day, reduced this “ Eden of the Eastern wave,” to a state of anarchy and confusion, as repugnant to humanity, as it is to commercial prosperity.

Enough is known of the harshness of this policy, and there is no need of here contrasting it with the energetic, successful, though ill supported sway of Sir Stamford Raffles—but it is the indirect influence which it exerts, that has proved so baneful to the Archipelago, under the assumed jurisdiction of this European power. Her unceasing interference in the concerns of the Malay Governments and the watchful fomenting of their internal dissensions, have gradually and effectually destroyed all rightful authority, and given rise to a number of petty states, which thrive on piracy and fatten on the slave trade. The consequent disorganization of society arising from these causes, has placed a bar to commercial enterprize and personal adventure, and has probably acted on the interior tribes, much in the same way as this fatal policy has affected the Malays. As far as can be ascertained, the financial and commercial concerns of the Dutch have not been prosperous ; it is easy to conceive such to be the case, as it will be conceded that oppression and prosperity cannot co-exist. In short, with the smallest possible amount of advantage, the Dutch Government has all along endeavoured to perpetuate an exclusive system, aiming more at injury to others than any advantage to themselves, or to the nations under their sway ; for where an enlightened administration might have produced the most beneficial results, we are forced to deplore not only the mischief done, and the mass of •

good neglected, but the misery and suffering inflicted on unhappy races, capable, as has been proved, of favourable development, under other circumstances.

The policy of the British in the Indian Archipelago, has been marked by vacillation and weakness. The East India Company, with a strong desire to rival the Dutch, aimed at doing so by indirect and underhand means, and shrunk from the liberality of views and bold line of conduct, which was perhaps inconsistent with their position and tenure of authority. It was in vain that Sir Stamford Raffles urged on them a line of conduct, which, had it been pursued, must eventually have ensured the ascendancy of the British over the space from Borneo to New Holland, and have linked her colonies in the East by a chain of posts from the northern part of India to the southern extremity of Van Diemen's Land. The timidity of the Company and the ignorance or indifference of the then existing Governments, not only neglected to carry this bold project into execution, but sacrificed the advantages already acquired, and without stipulation or reserve, yielded the improving Javanese to the tender mercies of their former masters. The consequences are well known ; all the evils of Dutch rule have been re-established, and the British watchfully excluded, directly or indirectly, from the commerce of the islands.

• It is true that the settlement of Singapore has

attracted a large portion of the native trade to its free port, and has become from its happy situation, in some measure an emporium for Straits' produce ; but, with this single commercial exception, our loss of footing and political influence in the Archipelago, is complete, and our intercourse with the natives has gradually become more restricted. We may sum up these remarks by taking a brief survey of the present position of the Archipelago. The Dutch are masters of a large tract of New Guinea at one extreme, and, at the other, have possessed themselves of the coast of Borneo, extending from the western boundary of Borneo Proper, to the southern limit of Matan. A glance at the chart will show that they have stations of more or less importance connecting these points, and that Java, and their settlement on Sumatra, give them exclusive command of the Straits of Sunda. It may likewise be here observed, that their territorial extension is only limited by their desires, for as there is no check from European nations, a title to possession is too readily acquired from distracted and contending native governments.

But the position of the Dutch nation in the "far East," though apparently so imposing, is, in reality, far from strong, and their power would easily sink before the vigorous opposition of any European country.

Java, exhausted and rebellious, submits, but remembers the period of British possession. The wild

Battas, of Sumatra, successfully repel the efforts of the Dutch to reduce them. The Chinese of the southern part of Borneo, are eager to cast off the yoke of masters who debar them every advantage, and would fain, were it in their power, exact a heavy tribute. Their possessions in New Guinea are nominal rather than real, and their older settlement of the Moluccas, fallen in value, can scarcely be supposed to compensate for the sacrifice of men and money, caused by their narrow-minded views and ill-directed efforts. The Dutch are strong enough to defy any native power directed against them, but their doubtful title and oppressive tenure would, as I have before said, render the downfall of their rule in the Archipelago, certain and easy, before the establishment of a liberal Government and conciliating policy.

Of the Malays, it is sufficient here to remark, that they have ceased to be powerful, and that their distracted and disorganized state, renders it dangerous for friends or strangers to trust themselves in their hands ; but their hatred of the Dutch is unbounded, and there is no reason to think, that any insuperable obstacle would be met with in the formation of a strong legitimate Government amongst them.

Our recent knowledge of the position of the native states, is so circumscribed however, that it is difficult to say much on this subject.

The Bugis, the traders of the islands, and their

hardest and most enterprising race, are checked and hampered by Dutch restrictions, and this remark, applying most forcibly to them, is true of the whole trading interests, and renders all alike inveterately hostile to the Dutch.

It may be fairly concluded from the foregoing remarks, that the injury done to British interests by the cession of Java and the consequent loss of power, has been greatly counterbalanced by the misrule of the Dutch, since their undisputed re-establishment. The field is again open therefore, to any nation desirous of rivalling Holland, and little doubt can be entertained of the success of such an effort, if carried on by a course of policy and conduct the reverse in every respect of that pursued by the present monopolists. The fact must be always borne in mind, that the Dutch are masters of the Archipelago, *only*, because no other nation is willing to compete with them, and although any attempt by another power might, and would doubtless, be watched with the greatest anxiety and distrust, and every opposition direct and indirect be levelled against it, yet it could not be considered any infringement of acknowledged right or actual possession.

A liberal system indeed, recommended by mutual advantage, would assuredly triumph over any local opposition, if not obstructed by European interests; nor is there any great reason to apprehend such a probability, unless, going from one extreme to another, we

should attempt hostility, to regain what was foolishly thrown away.

Nevertheless, sooner or later, the time *must* arrive, when we shall again be in possession of these islands, and we may accordingly look forward and prepare for the event in various ways.

The subject may be divided under two heads, viz., Territorial Possession, and Commercial Prosperity; and these appear so intimately blended, that the second is greatly dependent on the first, for it must be remembered that Sir Stamford Raffles, the highest authority on this point, has pronounced, that no purely commercial settlement can succeed in the Archipelago, and has attributed the numerous failures which have occurred, to a lack of knowledge of the country, and the non-possession of territory.

Many arguments might be urged, and many reasons given, to show the entire justice of this opinion, but it will be sufficient to state, that where a native population exists, and is rightly governed, an influence is insensibly acquired and strengthened, not only over those immediately protected, but also over the neighbouring tribes, and that on the occasion of any disturbance or collision with other powers, the means of resistance or the punishment of aggression, are at hand. A commercial post on the contrary, though advantageously situated, is liable to the fluctuations and distractions of its neighbours, its means of

attack or defence are necessarily limited, and whilst it fails to command respect, the natives are rather injured than benefited by its existence.

The chief consideration, however, seems to be, that territorial power is constantly opening new sources of traffic, and extending those already established, by disembarrassing trade of the intermediate clogs which tend to limit exports, from the small amount of benefit to the original dealer—and to lessen the demand—from the increased price attendant on passing through various hands.

The insular situation of Singapore may be adduced as a proof of this, for all articles of Straits produce before coming into the possession of the British merchant, afford profits to several classes of natives, in a very unequal degree; and little hope can be entertained of the favourable progress of a trade wherein the original producer or proprietor participates to so trifling an extent in its advantages. It may, indeed, be considered a monopoly by the natives inhabiting the coasts, as severe on the interior tribes, as the Dutch restrictions on themselves.

For these and many other causes which readily occur it would seem, that territorial possession, is the best, if not the only means, by which to acquire a direct and powerful influence in the Archipelago, but any government instituted for the purpose must be directed to the advancement of the native interests and

the development of native resources, rather than by a flood of European colonization, to aim at possession only, without reference to the indefeasible rights of the Aborigines.

On the second head, viz., the Commercial Prosperity, nothing need be added save that, being dependent on the right working of the first principle, it must unavoidably in its progress, present a striking contrast to the commercial monopolies of the Dutch, and be the means of bringing the English merchant in contact with the original native dealer.

The advantages, political and commercial, accruing from a well-managed territory, need only be alluded to, as every one in the slightest degree acquainted with the country, is well aware of its vast capability.

In a political view, the contiguity of the islands to our possessions in New Holland, and India, and the command over China, are sufficiently apparent ; and commercially, it would only be necessary to quote their productions, to prove their value. The difficulty of once more placing our interests, on a footing worthy a great nation, is no doubt considerable, but apt to be greatly overrated ; as the unpopularity of the Dutch, and the weakness of the native states, would ensure success to an establishment aiming at sufficient results by slow but steady means. The question, indeed, is not one embracing the acquisition of territory, but its *occupation* : viz., whether England shall claim and

improve lands she holds by as good a title as any the Dutch can show, and whether doing so, she shall use the full ascendancy of her national position, to extend her commerce, and distribute her manufactures, among a people who have always when permitted shown their craving for mercantile adventure?

A strong government established in Malludu Bay, a British territory, capable of extension, and possessing internal resources, having sufficient authority to cultivate a good understanding with the native governments, and spread inferior posts over the Archipelago, as opportunities offered, would effect this object, and without infringing upon the claims of any foreign state, ensure a commercial footing on a scale never yet developed in this portion of the world. Malludu Bay, situated at the northern extremity of Borneo, has been mentioned as best adapted for the purpose in view, on several accounts.

1st. It is a British possession.

2nd. There is no great Malay or Bugis settlement in its vicinity.

3rd. It is the place where in all probability a direct intercourse may be held with the Dyaks of the interior.

4th. The position relative to China is advantageous.

5th. It forms the western limit of the Archipelago, and our new settlement at Port Essington bounds it to the eastward. The climate and soil are well spoken of: a river flows into the bay, and is reported to com-

municate with the lake of Keeny Balloo, and the mountains in the interior—one of very considerable elevation. Above all, however, the natives are reported to be docile and easily taught; the servants of the company attached to their settlement of Balambangan were decided in opinion, that this bay was far preferable in every respect, to the station chosen and subsequently abandoned.

Supposing these advantages to be as above stated, yet it would scarcely authorize any active steps being taken without a more accurate knowledge than we at present possess of the particular locality, and of the states in its vicinity; it is to this point that I would direct attention, remarking, however, that although Malludu Bay, should on enquiry be found to be unfit for the purposes of colonization, yet the general view of our policy remains unaffected, as it would be only necessary to obtain a suitable place.

With a settlement at each extremity of the Archipelago, we could readily protect the trade of the natives, and obtain minor posts, and free-trade ports, whence the best principles of commerce and good government might be disseminated, and our interests best promoted, by the general prosperity of the countries under our sway, or in our own vicinity. It is scarcely necessary to say more on this subject, but before closing these remarks, I cannot help adverting to the colony at Port Essington.

The former settlement, which existed in the immediate neighbourhood of Port Essington, was after a

trial (of a few years) abandoned as useless, and the same difficulties which checked the progress of the first, will probably impede the present colony.

It was a striking feature of this settlement, that the natives, though frequenting the coasts to the northward of New Holland, seldom if ever visited or offered to trade with the settlement. This has, I know, been attributed to the natives being ignorant of the existence of the place, but this reason appears to me improbable in the highest degree, and we may with more justice surmise the cause to be, our utter disinclination and local inability to protect traders from the consequences attendant on a breach of Dutch regulations. This conjecture gathers confirmation from the facts, that the inhabitants of the Eastern portion of the Archipelago, are not addicted to maritime adventure, being supplied by the traders of the Western Islands with such articles of European or Chinese manufacture, as are suited to their tastes. The Bugis vessels that frequent the north coast of New Holland chiefly carry on the trade with the Arafura group, and it is evident that going and returning from this voyage, they are at the mercy of the Dutch cruisers. Is it probable then, that the Dutch would allow an intercourse with a British settlement, which it was in their power to prevent? And whilst the Bugis, are the carriers, is it not in the power of the Dutch to restrict and harass, if not totally to prevent their communication with us? The natives of the Archipelago cannot look to the British

for protection, but they can and do look for Dutch vengeance, and dread it.

These considerations are not urged against advantages to be derived from the possession of Port Essington, but rather as a warning against the over sanguine expectations of its having a trade of any considerable extent, whilst our relations with the Archipelago continue on their present eclipsed footing. The good to result from this colony, must be looked for on the continent of New Holland, where it will probably extend and make the same progressive strides to importance, as the sister colonies in the same country : but with reference to the Archipelago, its government will want authority to control the evil influence, sufficiently to ameliorate the present system.

Not far distant to the westward of Port Essington, is the large and fertile island of Timor, a portion of which, there is no doubt the government of Portugal would cede willingly for the smallest equivalent, as it has been long virtually abandoned, and is utterly useless to the mother country. The size and situation would render the possession of the Portuguese frontier of this island a desirable acquisition, and the favourable opportunity may not, if allowed to pass over, again recur.

The same indeed may be said of Leuconia, which offering no real benefit to Spain, would, in the hands of the English, be a lever to rule both China and the Archipelago. Rich, fertile, and blessed with a fine climate, within a few days' sail of Canton, and com-

manding the China sea, it would be an unrivalled jewel in the colonial tiara of England. When our relations with China come to be settled, and settled they must shortly be, the importance of Manilla can scarcely be overated.

Spain distracted, and torn by internal factions, and pledged to England by treaty and obligation, would readily place Leuconia in our hands, as a guarantee for the sums due, and would probably cede the possession in lieu of the claims we have on her exchequer.

For such an acquisition, the present is the time, the tide in our affairs, which taken at the flood, would lead on to fortune, and as I have before stated, that in a political point of view, it is only on an extended scale, that any real advantage, national or local, is to be gained, I must reurge my conviction that it is better to leave the Archipelago in its present state until the next general war, when it will again pass into our hands, than by contenting ourselves with paltry and insignificant stations, convey false impressions of our national importance, not easily removed from the minds of the natives.*

* I may here add a brief summary of the Dutch trading regulations:—Death was inflicted on traders in spice and opium not first bought from the Company. It is forbidden, under heavy penalties, to export or import the following articles, viz.—pepper, tin, copper, Surat silks, Indian cloths, cotton yarns of all sorts, unstamped gold, Samarang arrack, muskets, gunpowder, &c., &c. All vessels required a pass. No vessel to carry powder or shot in greater quantity than specified in the pass. No port was open to any vessel coming from the northward or the Moluccas, except Batavia. No

Whatever difference of opinion may exist, or whatever degree of credit may be due to the views here recommended, there can be doubt of our future ascendancy in the Archipelago, whether attempted at the present time, or delayed until the fortunes of war offer a fitting occasion. In either case a previous acquaintance will greatly facilitate the result, and must in all probability tend to a more just appreciation of these highly interesting countries, for when public attention is once aroused, and a stimulus given to inquiry, it cannot fail in fully developing the resources, and exhausting the knowledge of the mine, which has heretofore been left to the weak and casual efforts of individual exertion. It has been remarked by Mr. Farquhar, that the indifference of the British Government must have originated solely from the want of information, or its incorrectness, since it is not improbable that the riches of Sumatra and Borneo, are equal to those of Brazil and New Spain. The lapse of years has by no means weakened the force of this observation, for Borneo, Celebes, and indeed the greater portion of these islands are still unknown, and the government is as indifferent now, to these countries, equal in riches, and superior in commercial advantages to the new world. The apathy of two centuries still reigns supreme with the enlightened people of England, as well as their government, and whilst they willingly

navigation was allowed to be carried on by the vessels of Banka and Billiton, except to Palembang: no navigation from Celebes!

make the most expensive efforts favourable to science, commerce, or Christianity in other quarters, the locality which eminently combines these three objects, is alone neglected and alone uncared for.

It has unfortunately been the fate of our Indian possessions to have laboured under the prejudice and contempt of a large portion of the well-bred community, for whilst the folly of fashion requires an acquaintance with the deserts of Africa, and a most ardent thirst for a knowledge of the usages of Timbuctoo, it at the same time justifies the most profound ignorance of all matters connected with the government and geography of our vast possessions in Hindostan. The Indian Archipelago has fully shared this neglect, for even the tender philanthropy of the present day, which originates such multifarious schemes for the amelioration of doubtful evils, and which shudders at the prolongation of apprenticeship in the West for a single year, is blind to the existence of slavery in its worst and most exaggerated form, in the East. Not a single prospectus is spread abroad, not a single voice upraised in Exeter Hall, to relieve the darkness of paganism, and the horrors of the slave trade. Whilst the trumpet tongue of many an orator excites thousands to the rational and charitable object of converting the Jews, and reclaiming the gypsies: whilst the admirable exertions of Missionary enterprise in the Ausonian climes of the South Sea, have invested them with worldly power as well as religious influence: whilst the benevolent plans of the New Zealand

Association contemplate the protection of the natives by the acquisition of their territory : whilst we admire the torrent of devotional and philosophical exertion, we cannot help deploring, that the zeal and attention of the leaders of these charitable crusades have never been directed to the countries under consideration. These unhappy countries have failed to rouse attention or excite commiseration, and as they sink lower and lower, they afford a striking proof how civilization may be crushed, and how the fairest and richest lands under the sun may become degraded by a continuous course of oppression and misrule.

It is under these circumstances, I have considered that individual exertions may be usefully applied to rouse the zeal of slumbering philanthropy, and lead the way to an increased knowledge of the Indian Archipelago.

Such an exertion will be made at some cost and some sacrifice, and I shall here quit the general topic and confine myself to the specific objects of my intended voyage. It must be premised, however, that any plan previously decided on, must always be subject, during its execution, to great modification, in countries where the population is always wild and often hostile, and where the influence of climate is sometimes fatally opposed to the progress of inquiry. Local information likewise, frequently renders a change both advisable and advantageous, and circumstances as they spring up, too often influence beyond the power of foresight, especially in my own case, where the utmost care, will

still leave the means very inadequate to the full accomplishment of the proposed undertaking.

With a small vessel properly equipped, and provided with the necessary instruments for observation, and the means for collecting specimens in Natural History—it is proposed, in the first place, to proceed to Singapore, which may be considered the head quarters for the necessary intervals of refreshment, and for keeping open a certain communication with Europe. Here, the best local information can be obtained, interpreters procured, the crew augmented for any particular service, and, if needful, a small vessel of native construction may be added to the expedition, to facilitate the objects in view. An acquaintance may likewise be formed with the more respectable of the Bugis merchants, and their good-will conciliated in the usual mode, viz. by civility and presents, so as to remove any misconceived jealousy on the score of trading rivalry, and to induce a favourable report of our friendly intentions in their own country, and at the places where they may touch. The “Royalist”* will probably reach Singapore in the month of February or March 1839, at the latter end of the N.W. or rainy monsoon. The delay consequent on effecting the objects above mentioned, besides gaining a general acquaintance with the natural history and trade of the settlement, and some knowledge of the Malay language, will usefully occupy

* The “Royalist,” a yacht of 142 tons burthen, belonging to the Royal Yacht Squadron, in which the enterprize was prosecuted.

the time until the setting in of the S.E. or dry monsoon. It may be incidentally mentioned, however, that, in the vicinity of Singapore, there are many islands imperfectly known, and which, during the interval of the rainy season, will afford interesting occupation. I allude more especially to the space between the Straits of Rhio and those of the Durien, and likewise to the island of Bintang, which although laid down as one large island, is probably composed of small ones, a better acquaintance with which might facilitate the voyage from Singapore to the eastward, by bringing to light other passages besides those of Rhio and Durien, and at any rate would add something to the knowledge of the country, in the immediate vicinity of our settlement. On the commencement of the healthy season, I purpose sailing from Singapore, and proceeding without loss of time to Malludu Bay. 'This spot has been chosen for our first essay, for reasons previously enumerated, and in a country, every part of which is highly interesting, the mere fact of its being a British possession, gives it a prior claim to attention. 'The objects in view may be briefly mentioned.

1st. A general knowledge of the bay, and the correct position of its various points, so as to determine its outline.

2nd. To make inquiries of the settlement of Cochinese, reported, on Earl's authority, to be fixed in the neighbourhood of Bankoka ; (an intercourse will if possible be opened with this settlement.)

3rd. Carefully and minutely to explore the rivers which flow into the bay, and to penetrate, if practicable, as far as the lake and mountain of Keeny Balloo.

4th. Every endeavour will be used to open a communication with the aboriginal inhabitants, and to conciliate their good opinion. I speak with great diffidence about penetrating into the interior of this country, for I am well aware of the insurmountable difficulties which the hard reality often presents, previously overlooked, or easily overcome on the smoothness of paper, or in the luxury of a drawing-room. The two points chiefly to be relied on for this purpose, are a friendly intercourse with the natives, and the existence of navigable rivers. It is mentioned by Sir Stamford Raffles on native authority, that a land communication of not more than forty miles, exists between Malludu Bay and Keeny Balloo, but neither this computation, nor any other derived from the natives, can be relied on, for the inhabitants of these countries are generally ignorant of any measure of distance, and their reckoning by time is so vague, as to defy a moderately certain conclusion. The fact, however, of the vicinity of the lake to the bay is certain, and it follows as a reasonable inference, that the river or rivers flowing into the bay, communicate with the lake. The existence of such rivers, which were from the locality to be expected, are mentioned by Captain Forrest.

Most of this north part of Borneo (he says) granted

to the East India Company by the Sulus, is watered by noble rivers; those that discharge themselves into Malludu Bay are not barred. It is by one or the other of these rivers, that I shall hope to penetrate as far as the lake and mountain of Keeny Balloo, and into the country of the Idaan. I have not been able to learn that any Malay towns of importance are situated in the bight of the bay, and their absence will render a friendly communication with the aborigines a matter of comparative ease. The advantages likely to result from such friendly relations, are so evident, that I need not dwell upon them, though the mode of effecting such an intercourse must be left to the thousand contingencies which govern all, and act so capriciously on the tempers of savage races. The utmost forbearance and liberality, guided by prudence, so as not to excite cupidity, appear the fundamental rules for managing men in a low state of civilization.

The results of an amicable understanding, are uncertain at its commencement, for they depend on the enterprize of the individual and the power of the native tribe into whose hands he may chance to fall. I will therefore not enter into a visionary field of discovery, but it appears to me certain, that without the assistance of the natives, no small party can expect to penetrate far into a country populous by report, and in many parts thickly wooded. Without entertaining exaggerated expectations, I trust that something may be added to our geographical knowledge of the

sea-coast of this bay ; its leading features, productions, river anchorages, and inhabitants ; the prospects of trade and the means of navigation : and although my wishes lead me strongly, to penetrate as far as the lake, yet the obstacles, which may be found to exist, will induce me to rest satisfied with the more moderate and reasonable result. It may not be superfluous to notice here, that a foregone conclusion appears to be spread abroad, regarding the aboriginal (so called) inhabitants of Borneo, and that they are usually considered and mentioned under the somewhat vague appellation of Dyaks. They are likewise commonly pronounced as originating from the same stock as the Arafuras of Celebes and New Guinea, and radically identical with the Polynesian race. The conclusion is not in itself highly improbable, but certainly premature, as the facts upon which it is built, are so scanty and doubtful, as to warrant no such structure. On an island so vast as Borneo, races radically distinct might exist, and at any rate the opposite conclusion is hardly justifiable from the specimens of language, or the physical appearance of the tribes of the southern portion of the country. We have Malay authorities for believing that there are many large tribes in the interior, differing greatly in their degree of civilization, though all alike removed from the vicinity of a superior people. We have the Dyaks of the south, the Idaan of the north, the Kagan warriors and the Panams, a race little better than monkeys, who

live in trees, eat without cooking, are hunted by the other tribes, and would seem to exist in the lowest conceivable grade of humanity. If we can trust these accounts, the latter people resemble in many particulars, the Orang Benua or aborigines of the Peninsula, but the Dyaks, and Idaans, are far superior, living in villages, cultivating the ground and possessing cattle; besides these, we have the names of several other tribes and people, and in all probability many exist in the interior with whom we are yet unacquainted.

There are strong reasons for believing that the Hindoo religion, which obtained so extensively in Java and Sumatra, and yet survived in Balli and Lombok, was likewise extended to Borneo, and some authors have conceived grounds for supposing a religion anterior even to this. If only a portion of these floating opinions should be true, and the truth can only be tested by inquiry, we may fairly look for the descendants of the Hindoo dynasty, as well as an aboriginal people. It never seems to have occurred to any one, to compare the Dyaks with the people of Balli, and Lombok; we know indeed, little of the former, but both races are fair, good-looking, and gentle. Again, respecting the concluded identity of the Dyaks and Arafuras; it is clear, we have a very limited knowledge of the former, and I may ask, what do we know of the Arafuras? In short I feel as reluctant to embrace any preconceived theory, as I am to adopt the prevailing notion on this subject, for it requires a mass

of facts, with which we are lamentably deficient, to arrive at anything approaching to a reasonable conclusion. To return, however, from the above digression to the proceedings of the "Royalist," I would remark, that it depends greatly on the time passed in Malludu Bay, whether our next endeavour be prosecuted at Abai on the western, or Tusan Abai on the eastern coast. The object in visiting Abai would be chiefly to penetrate to the lake, which on the authority of Dalrymple and Barton, is not very far distant thence by a water communication ; but should any success have attended similar efforts from Malludu Bay, this project will be needless, as the enterprize will be prosecuted to the westward, and reach the vicinity of Abai. As Kimanis is the limit of the British territory to the westward, so Point Kenabantongen situated to the southward of the bay of Londakua, forms the eastern boundary, and a line drawn from coast to coast between these points, is represented as including our possessions. A reference to the chart will show the extent to be considerable, and the eastern coast from Malludu Bay to Point Kenabantongen, is so little known that it is desirable to become acquainted with its general features and conformation, and to seek thence the means of gaining an inlet into the interior, should it be denied at Malludu Bay. The reported proximity of Keeny Balloo to Malludu Bay, and likewise to Abai, would (supposing it to be anything like the size it is affirmed) lead us to expect, that it cannot be

far distant from the eastern coast, and it is reasonable to conclude, that some rivers or streams discharge themselves into the sea, in the numerous indentations, that abound on this shore. However this may be, the coast, with its bays, islands, and bold headlands, is one of great interest, the careful inspection of which as far as Point Keneonjon will add to our knowledge. The longitude of Point Unsong and Point Keneonjon will likewise determine the eastern extremity of Borneo, as the latitude of Point San Paniange will give the northern extreme of the island.

Much might be added on this topic, especially on the reputed communication by a line of lakes from Malludu Bay to Benjar Massin, which if true, would in all probability place some of these lakes near particular points of the eastern coast, as the whole line from the relative position of the two extremes, must be on the eastern side of the island. These reports, and the various surmises which arise from them, are matters rather of confirmation than discussion, and I will therefore only add, that, tempted by success, I shall not devote less than a year and a half to this object—but in case of finding a sickly climate, or meeting with a decidedly hostile population, I shall more easily abandon the field, and turn to others of not less interest, and perhaps less risk.

Equal to Borneo in riches, and superior in picturesque beauty to any part of the Archipelago, is the large and eccentric country of the Bugis, called

Celebes : so deep are the indentations of its coast, that the island may be pronounced as composed of a succession of peninsulas, nearly uniting in a common centre in the district of Palos, and thus, by the proximity of every part to the sea, offering great facilities for brief and decisive inland excursions.

The Dutch hold possession of Macassar, and formerly had settlements on the north-west coast and in the Bay of Sawa ; their power appears never to have been very extensively acknowledged, and at present, I have not been able to find any account of the condition of their factories. This information will probably be gained at Singapore, and at all events I am by no means ambitious of frequenting their ports further than necessity obliges, and expect but little information from them respecting the internal regulations of their colonial Government, or the trade or productions of the territory under their sway. I propose, therefore, limiting my inquiries to the northern and north-eastern portion of the island, more especially the great Bay of Gunong Tella. It is impossible to state here, the direction of these inquiries or any definitive object to which they should be turned, as I am acquainted with no author who speaks of the country save in a general and vague manner. It is reported as rich, mountainous, strikingly beautiful, and possessed of rivers abounding in birds, and, like Borneo, inhabited by wild tribes in the interior, and by the Bugis on the sea-shores and entrances of rivers. The character of the Bugis, so variously

represented, gives me strong hopes of rendering them by care and kindness, useful instruments in the prosecution of these researches, for all writers agree, that they are hardy, active, enterprising, and commercial, and it is seldom that a people possessing such characteristics are deaf to the suggestions of self-interest and kindly feeling.

The arrogance and especially the indolence of the Malays, counteract the influence of these strong incentives, and the impulse which governs such wild tribes as the Dyaks and Arafuras is a dangerous weapon which cuts all ways, and often when least anticipated. The Bajoos, or sea gypsies, are another race on whom some dependence may be placed, particularly if they be freed from the trammels of debt, swindled upon them by the Malays. Mr. Earl, who had a personal acquaintance with this tribe, and could speak their language, always expressed to me a degree of confidence in their good faith, which must have had some grounds.

I may here conclude the first stage of the expedition, during the progress of which the head-quarters will be fixed at Singapore. During some of the intervals, I hope to see Manilla, and to acquire a cursory knowledge of the unexplored tract at the southern extremity of Manilla, called in Norries' general chart, the Tiger Islands. The time devoted to the objects above mentioned, must, as I have before said, be regulated by the degree of fortune which attends them ; for, cheered by

success, I should not readily abandon the field ; yet if persecuted by climate or other serious detriments, I shall frequently shift the ground to remove myself beyond such evil influence. It is scarcely needful to continue a detail of projects so distant, having already carved out for myself a work, which I should be proud to perform, and which is already as extended as the chances of human life and human resolves will warrant.

The continuation of the voyage would lead me to take the "Royalist" to Timor or Port Essington, thence making excursions to the Arra Isles, Timor Laut, and the southern shores of North Guinea. That part of the coast contiguous to Torres Straits I am particularly desirous of visiting, as it has been suggested to me by Mr. Earl, and I think with reason, that a better channel than the one we are at present acquainted with, may be found there. That such a channel exists, and will be discovered when the coast is surveyed, I entertain but little doubt, but the navigation is hazardous, and from the westward must be attempted with great caution. My own proceedings must of course be regulated by the discoveries previously made by Captain Wickham and others, and as this gentleman has orders to survey Torres Straits, the field may be well trodden before I reach it. The rest of the voyage I shall consider as one merely of pleasure, combining such utility as circumstances will permit. It is pro-

bable that I shall visit our Australian settlements ; glance at the Islands of the Pacific, and return to Europe round the Horn.

Before concluding this long paper, I may observe that there are points of inquiry which may be useful to the studies of the learned, which, provided the process be moderately simple, I shall be willing to make, and I shall always be happy to receive any directions or suggestions regarding them. I allude to observations of the tides, to geology, natural history, &c. &c., for the general observer often overlooks highly interesting facts, from his attention not being called to them. The specimens of natural history will be forwarded from time to time, and information will be sent to the Geographical Society, which may always, if it be of any value, be used as freely, as it is communicated. In like manner, the objects of natural history will be open to any person who is interested in such pursuits. I cannot but express my regret, that from pecuniary considerations as well as the small size of the vessel, and the limited quantity of provisions she carries, I am unable to take a naturalist and draughtsman, but I should always hail with pleasure any scientific person who happened to be in the countries at the time ; and I may venture to promise him every encouragement and facility in the prosecution of his pursuits.

I embark upon the expedition with great cheerfulness, with a strong vessel, a good crew, and the

ingredients of success, as far as the limited scale of the undertaking will permit ; and I cast myself on the waters, like Southey's little book ; but whether the world will know me after many days, is a question which, hoping the best, I cannot answer with any degree of assurance.

CHAPTER II.

JANUARY 2, 1839, TO AUGUST 20, 1839.

No. 2.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

"Royalist," Jan. 2, 1839.

Lat. $4^{\circ} 30'$ N. Long. $21^{\circ} 10'$.

MY DEAR JACK,

A HOMEWARD-BOUNDER in sight, becalmed ; we are walking about two knots up to her ; and if she has no fear of us, I shall be able to send this letter. I am glad to give you an excellent account of ourselves and all aboard—well, happy, orderly, and proper behaved. Our weather, since leaving England, has been very light, and the wind scant and paltry. We crossed the Bay of Biscay, and ran down to Madeira with paltry breezes and occasional calms, being twelve days to the island. Since that time we have had a pleasant passage and fair ; but it is remarkable that we have had no N.E. trade—the breeze for the most part hang-

ing far southward of east, and often as far as S.S.E. A few days or hours, I hope, will bring up the S.E. trade, the first faint breath of which we have had since last evening. The climate has been delicious—balmy days, neither too hot or too cold, and moonlight nights, fit for fairies to bask in. I have been looking for Whorley's Shoal, and took several casts last night, when from our reckoning we should have been on it; but it is probably (if in existence) wrongly laid down. Our natural history has rather languished, for I never before made a voyage so barren in producing fish. We harpooned a porpoise and *delphinus delphis*; and dozens of flying fish have afforded us good food for breakfast. This morning we missed taking a hammer-headed shark! Seeing him betokens that the bank is somewhere in our neighbourhood, as they are not usually inhabitants of the ocean. We have passed numbers of outward-bound ships; but in general they are shy of us. This is a history of remarkable occurrences! and, following the fashion of Mosheim, I shall next describe our internal and domestic history. As I before said, we are all well: the only invalid is Humshee,* who, like a beast that he is, caught the mange; but the time passes with all the swiftness attendant on tranquil monotony. Our conversation, save when we refer to our friends at home, seldom wanders from Borneo and New Guinea. We (I always do) rise at six, or half-past; bathe; breakfast at half-past eight;

* A Newfoundland dog.

dine at two; tea four. No drink, save one weak potion, and two pipes at eight bells in the evening. Our mornings are passed in working sights and writing; the afternoons in reading; the evening is diversified by a game at chess. The hands lark, &c. In the evening we talk of Keeny Balloo. I make surveys with Murray, or gloat over the collection of natural history that is to be, with the doctor. I——, M——, and W—— are all I could wish them; the two former hard, sea-going, efficient fellows. M—— will be invaluable. My stock, dear Jack, is exhausted. I hope the law thrives. I know you will write me. Give my kindest regards to all at Bridport, and to the happy pair on the Heath. Keep a very sharp look-out for I——'s boy, for I should like much to get him into the school. James gets on very well, and is, or seems happy. He is a sharp, intelligent, willing boy, and I—— takes as much care of him as though he were his own son. My kind regards to your uncle and the Greenwich party, Popham, and John Lethbridge, &c. Give Washington * my news, and believe me, my dear friend, in haste,

Yours ever sincerely and affectionately,

J. BROOKE.

P. S. Let Mrs. I—— know, as he may not write.

* Captain Washington, R.N., the then Secretary to the Geographical Society.

No. 3.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

"Royalist," R.Y.S., Jan. 21, 1839.

Lat. $18^{\circ} 40'$ Long. $30^{\circ} 50'$.

MY DEAR JACK,

I PROMISED to write you long letters, full of the events, or no events, which befel me. In pursuance of this promise I scratched some hasty lines, when a Dutchman hove in sight near the Equator, and I trust the skipper of the "Anna Catherine" kept his promise, safely to deliver our letters. The more regular fulfilment of my promise is at hand; but I must premise that it is devoid of incidents, for never did vessel keep the smooth tenour of her way more than the "Royalist" since leaving Plymouth. The weather the entire way has been serene, and the sea smooth; and if we have not advanced so rapidly as we might desire, we at any rate have passed a pleasant time, devoted to moderate work, and moderate recreation. Let us, dear Jack, be on the same friendly terms as ashore; and to insure this, you must see me at this precise moment, and from that given point we can, like a pendulum, sway backwards and forwards. Know, then, that it has just struck four bells (two o'clock); dinner is over, and the sun being vertical, I am reposing on my couch, inditing this epistle on my knees. "Royalist" is going six knots with a light trade wind, and four more days will see us at Rio Janeiro. This

change in our destination, has arisen from our passage having been long, and our water-tanks having surged a good deal of water out of them during the heavy channel gales. We had about water enough to take us to the Cape, but I did not choose to risk it, and was not sorry to have the plea for seeing so fine a port and country as Rio. Our lives pass in cheerful monotony. I rise always between six and seven ; bathe : breakfast at half-past eight ; compare chronometers, take sights, work them, then read in my vocation till near twelve ; then shoot the sun, work the day's work, and dine at half-past one. Dinner over, I read again ; repose for an hour or two ; drink tea at five. The cool of the evening is dedicated to musket, or pistol practice, all hands ; or broadsword ; games, sometimes active, but usually sedentary ; chess amuses us aft ; dominoes or drafts forward. At eight we smoke a cigar or two, converse or read, till half-past ten or eleven, and then retire for the night, to begin the same life the next day. The only variety is some stray fish or bird appearing, when we are eager to add to our knowledge of natural history, or the sight of a vessel. Some days ago we fell in with the "Lord Lowther," the large Chinaman ; and to my surprise I found Hew Dalrymple aboard her, a passenger to Madras. I dined and passed the evening with them, and was quite pleased with the unlooked-for rencontre with Dalrymple. By three o'clock the next day we had run her out of sight to leeward, though they had a great fancy they were

going to beat us. These ships sail remarkably well ; but in the S.E. trade she could not hold the wind as we did, nor could she forereach upon us. Yesterday we spoke a brig, called the "George Bentinck," of Whitehaven, seventy-three days from Cadiz, and it put us in good humour with our own passage from England of forty-two days. I have every reason to be well pleased with my companions. M—— is as good as F——'s certificate warranted. He is quiet, cautious, plodding, and indefatigable ; his heart and soul are in the business ; nothing will go wrong with him ; he is as hard as iron, and as patient as Job. I—— is kind, judicious, and conciliating, fully entering into my views and wishes ; and I could not wish for a better man or a more capable one, as master ; he is an excellent observer, and possessed of fine natural abilities. —— is the greatest character, but the one I have most fear of ; he is quite the gentleman, well educated, and of superior talents ; but he has too much imagination, and all its consequent defects in habits and character—all eagerness one day, all slackness the next ; thinks poetically, and talks of writing a tragedy—in short, dreaming more than performing. He has enough mind, however, to neutralize this defect ; but his physical powers are very defective, and I should say his education had been of the tenderest kind. He yields to the heat—declares it insupportable—says he can hardly lift an arm. If he comes to hard work he must alter greatly, or else will retire. Such is the brief

sketch of my life and my companions. I can truly say of myself that I am far better than at home—abstemious, occupied, and happy. Valè.

26th January, 1839.—I have taken a fine new steel pen to render the crossing legible. The weather, which I praised so highly, changed the very night after, and since that time we have had calms, with heavy rain and occasional squalls. Our progress has been much delayed therefrom. This evening we expect to sight Cape Frio; but we have not had an observation for several days, and we may, therefore, be further or nearer, according to the set of the currents. Our natural history has been attended to on every occasion when opportunity offered, and has principally been turned to observations on the flying-fish, of which we have had vast numbers aboard, from being so low in the water. Of the three or four dozen specimens we have examined in the tropics, they have all been the Mediterranean flying-fish, *Exocetus exiliens*, which are stated to reach to the edge of the tropics. The oceanic flying-fish, *E. volitans*, said to be most common, we have not seen; and I have come to the conclusion that they are not common in all parts of the tropics, though probably the most so about the West Indies. We have preserved some luminous mollusca, caught near the line, the light of which is brilliant, and they possess the power of extinguishing it at pleasure. They are two or three inches long, like a lump of rock crystal, and when seen below the water their

light appears as big as a man's head, and would lead one to think the animal far larger than it really is. At night the sea was so full of them, that the ones giving light, enabled us to see myriads of others not lighted. All night they surrounded us. At sunrise they sunk; not a single one was visible during the day; but at night again (for many nights) they reappeared as thick as ever. This lasted till we got a breeze. I yesterday examined the *Physalia Atlantica*, "the Portuguese man-of-war;" the tail, or rather filaments, inflict a severe sting, as I experienced. The animal is a bladder full of air; when pierced, its extinction is instantaneous. The colours are remarkably beautiful—varying tints of purple and pink.

12 o'clock.—Land in sight as expected. To-morrow we shall probably be in Rio. Nothing is pleasanter than a good landfall after crossing the ocean—four days without observation—our chronometer rated from Plymouth—we expect land in a particular bearing at a particular time, and lo! it appears. I propose enclosing this in a half-sheet of paper, just to give you a little Rio Janeiro news. Our domestic intelligence is favourable. Hart goes on as well and as quietly as usual, always sensible and reserved. He is a favourite of I——'s, though he has become so by degrees. Creswick and Peter* flourish. J—— M—— is in high feather—very quiet, so are the rest. Old George has been ill but is recovered. Humshee has got the mange. Billy† has fits like Jack used to

* His servants.

† A bull-dog.

have. We set him at a shark on deck. Didn't he tackle it, that's all. Have you read *Oliver Twist*? If not, pray do so on the first leisure occasion. Now, dear friend, adieu for a few minutes.

27th.—Close off Rio Janeiro. The most picturesque coast I ever beheld—mountains heaped, jumbled, and tortured into all shapes—deep indentations, and numerous islets, and wooded scenery. We had a try yesterday with a Brazilian man-of-war brig and a corvette—beat both very easy, when there was any breeze, but with a two-knot air, they held way with us almost. “Royalist,” too, is out of trim, from being deep.

29th.—Rio is, as said, a lovely place—the bay capacious, surrounded by mountains of all heights up to eight or ten thousand feet—studded with islands—green valleys, flowers, trees, shrubs, and birds in perfection. Yesterday I visited the botanical garden, near which is a fresh-water lake. There I saw, for the first time, the humming-bird, in all its diminutive beauty, flitting around the flowers like the most brilliant bees—the tree they frequent is of Malacca! Exotics are cultivated—the Jack-tree, bread-fruit, Bamboo-mango—these are all old acquaintances; but the hill-side, wild and luxuriant from Nature's hand, possesses greater novelties for me. Flowers brilliant, rhododendrons blooming; the graceful and feathery palm, gives the proper tropical aspect, but the vegetation is new to me and peculiar.

2nd February.—My stay here is drawing to a close,

so is my paper, and I must present you with a different domestic picture than when I commenced. — and — have chosen to quarrel. The former has complained to me, and insisted that — should leave the vessel or he would do so himself. I replied, as I always would do to a requisition of the sort, that he might go whenever he felt inclined. I have had tears and whining till I am sick, but he does not mean to be so good as his threat, which I regret, for I shall certainly discharge him at the Cape if he does not go on better, and pay a little more attention to his natural history.

I care nothing about these squabbles, though I think — has taken up the cudgels against —. Jealousy is the root of it all, and they are both such good men that I should be sorry to have to decide between them. I have seen a great deal of the country—been up the bay and up a mountain—caught in the Skimalong* in an awful squall, which capsized plenty of boats and drowned plenty of people. I have collected specimens of natural history—no thanks to — for his assistance. Now, my friend, adieu! Say all that is kind to the circle at Bridport and the Priors. Write me often, and think of me always as your

Affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

* One of the "Royalist's" boats.

No. 4.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Cape Town. March 16, 1839.

MY DEAR JACK,

INSTEAD of beginning a letter at sea previous to my arrival here, I have delayed (in consequence of bad weather), and my communication will be shorter than usual. Leaving Rio we cruized for two or three days with the "Calliope" frigate, and "Grecian"—one of Symonds's new crackest brigs. The wind was very, very light; but in a four-knot breeze the brig did not beat us—in an air of wind she had the advantage; but both are "Royalist's" worst points of sailing, as you know. The frigate we beat. Rio is a lovely place, and I left it with regret. I was well received and well entertained—in short, wherever there are men-of-war, we get on well. Our passage to Tristan d'Acunha was very slow from light baffling winds, principally contrary. I was anxious, on several accounts, to visit the island, and I wished especially to see the population who have emerged from the drudgery of civilized life, to inhabit so wild and secluded a spot. The approach is grand and imposing—the peak rises eight thousand feet and upwards from the water's edge, and one thousand is a sheer precipice overhanging a narrow beach. The evening we got under the land, was fine, with a light breeze from the southward and eastward—all right for land-

ing—our guns were polished, and we were reckoning the number of sea birds, new to us, to be added to our collection. We only waited for the dawn of day—at midnight the wind shifted, and by dawn—the expected dawn—blew a gale from the northward and westward. I was greatly disappointed; but, as landing was impossible, and a week's delay might have accrued, I up helm, and ran for the Cape. You shall have a little natural history. We have decided, beyond a doubt, that there are three distinct species of the albatross—they are mentioned, and not badly described, by Shaw, but more recent naturalists seem to doubt their existence, or to confound them with the *Diomedea exulans*, or wandering albatross. We have specimens of all three, and two of them, (*Chlororhynchos* and *Fuliginoso*), will, I think, be rare in our museums—besides these, I incline to the opinion of there being another species, which we saw nearing the land, but were unable to procure. We have some South American birds—two species of petrel—one large, and I think not described in any of my books. These specimens, with an African boar's head from Natal, a shark's head and backbone, &c., will be forwarded to your address, with a list, to the care of Gardner & Co., where you must look in and ask about them on receipt of this. The collection, good, bad, and indifferent, may as well be kept entire, and placed in Waterhouse's* hands, with a clear understanding that

* The then Curator of the Zoological Museum, in Leicester-square.

he is not to use them, or show, or describe them in any way, except with your permission. I leave it entirely with your judgment how far to grant this permission, it might be useful, or liberal, or polite ; in any of which cases, pray do so. Do not be over-careful, for I hate the spirit which is over chary of granting information. The understanding, likewise, must be between Mr. Waterhouse and myself, for a thousand things might happen to render any arrangement with —— nugatory and void. Will you then see Waterhouse. I should like Jack to be at your elbow when you open the first box ; not that it contains anything rich or rare, but because it is the first box.

“Royalist” is very well ; we beat into the bay with the “Carnatic” and “Earl Hardwicke,” Green’s ship’s ; beat them like sacks, though the latter sails very well. I look for a change aboard, and have no doubt that before long I—— and W—— will leave the vessel, or I shall have to discharge them. —— is as I have told you a nice gentlemanly fellow, but a nuisance aboard ship—the other day he exploded his gun in his cabin, shot through the deck, and through the bottom of my new gig, and was crying and whimpering for three days, because I told him I required care and not apologies. I—— I like ; he is a good seaman and an upright man, but he has never been accustomed to the management of a fore and aft vessel, and funks her, and sails her ill. He does not like being spoken to, and is very fond of his own way, which is natural enough, but his jealousy of M—— is,

I guess, unbounded, and will break out. M—— goes on like a man of sense. I have found out that they, every one, had resolved to turn Hart out of the vessel when she arrived at Southampton, but I put such a stopper on the first hint from I——, that I heard no more, and now he is popular with all parties, keeps himself to himself, as he forcibly expresses it, and does his duty in a manner meriting the highest commendation. The crew are all I could wish, as yet, but these divisions do not tend to improve them. The storm is brewing; it will soon burst, and I shall be glad of it. The second mate, ——, is good for nothing—more fit for a farmer than a seaman. This is my principal news. The Cape I do not like; after the tropical vegetation and luxuriant verdure of Rio, it presents few features of attraction.

Tell me, Mr. Lawyer, your opinion of the following case. Can a Colonial law be at direct variance with the acknowledged principles of the British Constitution? Would a person (supposing its existence), be liable to an action, in the court at home, for damages for carrying the law into execution. There is a law here, that any seaman found in the streets after nine o'clock at night, is to be *confined* for the night, and *fined* the next morning. Though the man be ever so sober, ever so orderly, ever so respectable, he is fined and imprisoned like a malefactor for being out after nine at night. The vilest thief, the worst chimney-sweep, may walk with impunity the live-long night, but the poor

British seaman, "the pride of his country," must, like some troubled ghost, vanish as the clock strikes, or go to quod. Nothing can be imagined more barbarous, unjust, or at variance with the first principles of justice. If an action would lay, who would it lay against? the watchman, the magistrate, or the governor? Pray ask Prior about this, and if any of my fellows come under its operation, I think I will have a King's counsel's opinion on it. Adieu! till to-morrow.

17th.—They are giving me trouble to-day, on the score of port dues, as they are pleased to imagine that the privileges of the yacht-squadron do not extend to this colony. I have addressed the Governor on the subject, and shall write to Lord Yarborough if I am not satisfied. Now Jack, it is time to clew up. Give my kindest regards at home, and keep them informed of my news, for I cannot write to all. Say all that is kind to the Priors, and ever and ever, dear Jack, believe me,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 5.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

"Royalist," R.Y.S. Table Bay,
March 21, 1839.

MY DEAR JACK,

THIS is briefly to inform you that the explosion has just burst upon my head, and that I have dis-

charged I—— at his own request. It puts me to little, or no inconvenience, as I make Hart master : and am just deliberating whether C—— can be trusted as chief. I—— is a good man ; but the jealousy he gave way to, respecting M——, jaundiced his mind. His last blow up has been with Hart ; but it is a mere pretence ; I would not have any harm come to him, and wish to treat him with every consideration, present and future, for under other circumstances he would be a valuable servant. You remember how clearly I foresaw this occurrence, and yet, now that I am acquainted with M——, and can see the value of his services, it is impossible for me to part with him unless he commits some fault. Hart I intend making master, as I said before, for M—— in that situation would be thrown away, and Hart deserves it at my hands, and is fully competent to undertake the charge. What —— intends I know not ; I should greatly prefer his leaving the vessel likewise, for he is sure to do so soon, being physically unfit for the undertaking, and morally, with fortitude insufficient to dip his feet in cold water.

Believe me, my friend, that this gives me the most unalloyed satisfaction, for to have the foolish fellows at sixes and sevens with their paltry jealousy is not bearable long ; and the effect its continuance has on the good feeling of the vessel, highly detrimental.

21st March.—I sail to-morrow. These matters have detained me several days ; and I——'s state of imbecility has caused some confusion.

We are all quite right now, and I hope shall continue so ; and at any rate, I do not think we have anything to fear from the same ill-feeling.

God bless you, dear Jack. I am in a hurry ; but believe me ever,

Your sincere friend,
J. BROOKE.

No. 6.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

"Royalist," R.Y.S. March 23, 1839.

MY DEAR JACK,

THIS appertains to natural history alone. In the box you will find two Silken Monkeys, and birds according to the list. You will perceive how entirely different the species of albatross are ! There are two Petrels. The boar's head I have not sent, as it is not quite clean enough, and must go in the first skeleton box. The tusks are enormous, and far exceeding the Indian wild boar.

I wish you to give one albatross and the smallest humming-bird to Harvey,* with my regards—the brace will be unique ; and I have seen both kinds since I parted from you—the humming-bird, amid bright sunshine and flowers, the albatross, skimming over roaring seas amid raging winds. Farewell—we lay to, waiting for a breeze, hove short, and ready for a start.

I anathematise this Cape ; it is a dirty, filthy, mean,

* John Harvey, Esq., of Ickwellbury, Bedfordshire. See letter No. 44.

ungentlemanly place, and the best thing they could do would be to shove Table Mountain over Cape Town.

Our family is now right, and I doubt not our domestic affairs will proceed better. Had I—— remained he would have greatly injured the feeling aboard.

God bless you. Two letters I have already written. Kind regards to Priors, and all friends.

Tell Palmes I have seen his friends the N——s, who have been very polite.

Your affectionate,

J. B.

No. 7.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Anger Road, May 14, 1839.

MY DEAR JACK,

A FEW lines by a snap opportunity to say that we arrived here yesterday, and this will be carried by a vessel just come into the roads.

I have been unwell—ill—and am yet debilitated and weak, but improving daily; the change of diet, especially the acquisition of eggs and fowls is a great relief. From Singapore you shall hear more at large. Let them know either at Lackington,* or S. Broom,* the receipt of this—not about the sickness. Farewell, my friend, and believe me,

Yours very affectionately,

J. BROOKE.

* The residences of his mother and sister.

No. 8.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Singapore, June 3, 1839.

MY DEAR JACK,

You will be expecting a letter from me, and I take the earliest opportunity (save one, which was the day after our arrival) to assure you of my being restored to health and increasing strength. I am very well internally, and feeling cheerful; but there are marks about me of not being the robust and hardy man I once was, but I am quite enough so to continue my expedition. I have here to announce to you that — leaves me with my full consent and concurrence. He is so unfitted for what he has undertaken—so devoid of all energy, moral or physical—such a Niobe for tears, and such a school-girl in habits, that his departure will be the greatest possible relief. Should you meet him after his return, pray behave to him as usual, for he is a quiet, well-educated, and talented person. Troubles, however, are thick about me. Hart, with whom I have every reason to be well satisfied, is seriously ill with a complaint of the bowels, somewhat similar to my attacks. He is better this morning, and I trust to see him restored. M—— I have some reason to be displeased with. He is indefatigably laborious, and capable of performing the details of his duty; but he has a knack of making every living soul aboard the vessel detest

him. Nobody so quiet or so unassuming as long as I am on deck or within hearing, yet I have had complaints numerous of his interfering in duty matters, and trying to carry things with a high hand ; *entre nous*—strictly—I have fears that he uses the grog bottle when nobody is looking, and when liquor is in, wit is out, for he gets fretful and boastful. He is not a man that will leave, and I should be sorry if he so did, but he is not a man that will bear much encouragement. — is a fool and a donkey, but a willing and good-tempered one. The second mate, is turning out very well ; and the hands forward I have reason to be satisfied with, though they are inveterate against M—— ; and unless I put the stopper I intend to do on his tongue, they would not sail with him. This is the dark side of the picture, the fine side is more promising. I am able again to superintend the vessel, and be on deck. Hart I trust will soon get round. “Royalist” is painting and getting her rigging to rights, and in another ten days we shall be ready for sea. The accounts from Borneo are favourable ; the sultan of Borneo Proper is favourably inclined to the English, and hates the Dutch. The government of Singapore have offered me letters for him ; and from Borneo Proper I hope to penetrate the interior, or else fall back on my old plan of Malludu Bay. Of course I visit the latter place at any rate ; but from the capital, and with the kingly protection, much may be done. Before I sail I shall

have another opportunity of writing you, mentioning details. The state of affairs in China is awful—two millions sterling worth of opium has been given up without a struggle, and it is doubtful whether this concession has had the desired effect. We have no news here later than March. The opium clippers are at a stand-still, &c., &c., all of which you will learn from the public prints. I received two letters from Jem,* the last notifying his intention of proceeding to Sydney. No opportunity offers of sending him letters. He seems in raptures with Manilla!

Singapore is a very pleasant little place; the residents are homely and hospitable. I live with Mr. —, my agent, a young man, pleasant, and very kind. The country is diversified; the state of native society extraordinary; the commercial importance of the place considerable; the neighbourhood unknown; in natural history confined—snakes, insects, and fish, abundant—birds few, and animals fewer.

God bless you. My kind regards to all friends; and believe me, dear Jack, your attached friend,

J. BROOKE.

P. S. I have not, and ought to have, heard from you; the February overland despatch having arrived. Don't forget there is an overland mail once per month.

* James Lethbridge Templer, the Editor's eldest brother, and the early friend of Sir James Brooke. His untimely death in New South Wales, in the year 1845, is alluded to in a subsequent letter.

No. 9.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Singapore, June 18, 1839.

MY DEAR JACK,

EN avant marchons—With re-established health I am equal to anything—singing and churring from morn till night, and my bosom's lord sitting lightly on his throne. Some changes have taken place since my last—the principal one is —— having left me, as I anticipated and wished.

I cannot give you any account of this island just now, further than to say that it is a pleasant place, and the inhabitants very kind and hospitable—too much so—as they invite me out to dinner much oftener than I like, or prudence renders correct. I have settled to sail for Borneo Proper, on or before the 1st July. The rajah of the country is represented as favourable to Europeans, and has lately behaved in a *civilized* and proper way, to a shipwrecked crew, who fell into his power. On my way to the capital, I propose looking at the coast as minutely as circumstances will allow, and visiting *Sarawak*—the place whence small vessels bring the ore of antimony. I know not how far I may be led, provided I am tempted forward by moderate success. Failing Borneo Proper, I shall make my way to Malludu, as originally proposed. Since my arrival, you must know, there have been several deliveries of Europe letters and intel-

ligence as late as the 25th March. I am quite at a loss to know why I have not received your epistles—feeling, as I do, sure that you have written some. I am inclined to attribute it to your ignorance of such a thing as the overland mail existing, or that Gardner is carefully pocketing all the letters, that they may come at once. This last is a very foolish plan, and, at any rate, the consequence now is, that I must remain without hearing from home, until I return from Borneo, three or four, or even five months hence. There is another question I wish to ask you, about boats.—In your reply, pray tell me the shortest time, in still-water, an eight-oar, six-oar, or four-oar, takes to pull a mile N.B. still-water, and no wind or tide). They have some very fine native sampans here, about thirty feet long—pulling four oars, and with a paddle astern, being equal to another. They fancy they can beat all the world—I am going to pull them to-morrow, but am certain of being beat in my gig (now called the “Lily,” and painted white) as I have had a *private trial*, and got beaten by one of their first boats. They are no exact match for any of our boats—bigger than a four-oar—smaller than a six. I forgot to tell you, that the government here are to give me letters for Borneo and other places, which, I daresay, will assist us a little.

Singapore is pretty well known, and most parts of it have been surveyed by Captain Ross and Captain Franklin (not the Polar ones). There is, however,

about ten miles which I am going to run over, and then form a chart with the materials already at hand, giving soundings, and finishing it up. The Gillat shore opposite to this, requires to be surveyed, for it is utterly unknown. I will not finish this to-day, the ship not sailing until Thursday (to-day is Tuesday). 20th June, 1839. I must put a finishing touch on this letter. Though having very little to say in addition to what I have written, it will extend to the length of a lady's postscript. Whilst I think of it, let me say a word on winds and tides, all of which I will send to Mr. Whewell in proper time, and when time shall have ratified the correctness of our first impressions. Mr. Whewell says, in his letter to you, that he has had good and satisfactory observations from Singapore. I have been unable to find out by whom made, and conclude, therefore, it was done by some man-of-war's master. The tides here are so much influenced by local circumstances, especially the monsoons, that I should hardly consider any set of observations, made at one season of the year, could be conclusive. The general result of our observations go to prove the strong influence of the current. You must know that the tide from the China Sea, meets the tide from the Indian Ocean, at Pulo Pesang, or somewhere near the Caramons, in the Straits of Malacca. Consequently, when flood-tide is flowing here from the eastward, the flood sets from the westward at the above places. The current from the China Sea,

coming in with flood-tide, causes a great occasional rise of water above the tide mark, and is checked by the westerly flood from the Indian Ocean ; but when the tide ebbs, the current is too strong for the tide, and causes the flow and ebb, by the shore, to discharge themselves the same way. I explain in a hurry, but mean to say, that flood and ebb-tide both *apparently* run from east to west, the current, often for many days at a time, setting that way, and the accumulated water being carried off by the ebb of the Malacca Strait.

What do you think, likewise, of the sea-breeze being hot and sickly—the land-wind cool, refreshing, and healthy—the sea-breeze blows from the southward, dry and parching, and is called here the Java wind, but the small Island of Java cannot be supposed capable of heating the wind, and I feel some difficulty to account for the dryness and heat of the wind which blows over so large a space of water.

The land-breeze, on the contrary, sweeping over a continent—loaded with marsh and jungle, is cool and chilly, but not injurious as in other places. Farewell. My kind regards and wishes to your family, and our many common friends. How often, dear Jack, I wish for you, but, at any rate, I shall look forward some day or other, to meeting you again. Tell Washington my views and projects, and in the mean time,

Believe me, your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. I forgot to tell you, that on my return from Borneo, when I have some information and some specimens worth having, I shall expect an article in the morning papers, just to keep people aware of my movements. It is better then, than previously—
Adieu.

No. 10.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Singapore, July 16, 1839.

MY DEAR JACK,

SEE me doomed to the inaction of Singapore whilst the fine season tempts me towards Borneo, and hear the reasons of this delay. ——'s departure threw so much work on my hands, and such a load of responsibility, that I resolved, if possible, to procure a substitute. I now wait for an answer from Penang, which to me appears a most tedious navigation, but, in the mean time, a young Dane has offered his services, and if I get not the one from Penang I can ensure him. Both the Dane and the Englishmen are good natural historians and suited to the pursuit. I have addressed Waterhouse a letter about my collections. I forward them to you, and will you, when you have seen as much as you wish, let him have them. Boxes 2 and 3 will be despatched directed to Gardner, perhaps 4 likewise with

shells. There are some fine birds, but I think not rare, being the produce of Malacca and Singapore. partly bought—partly shot.

From Borneo I shall be able to send some better worthy, for I expect treasures, though very difficult to get at. My intention is first to visit Sarawak—a river whence they get antimony ore, as yet unknown and unmarked on the charts. At Sarawak I hope to get hold of the Rajah of Borneo Proper and go up to the capital with him, and, if possible, make an excursion up the river. I feel *confident* something is to be done, though the field is one remarkably difficult to get at. From the character of this Borneo rajah, I am led to believe, he may be made by good management and some presents, subservient to my views, but in case he fails, I shall proceed according to my original intention to Malludu Bay, and return by Celebes, thus making the entire round of the island.

I am happy to say that I continue well, and exercise myself a good deal at fives every morning from six to eight o'clock. The weather, though hot, is delightful to me, and I never wish to exchange it for the chilly climes of England. Indeed had I not my mother, sisters, and some good friends like thee, Jack, I should be tempted never to trouble it again, for be it said, I am always happier and better in a warm climate.

My affairs aboard go on pretty well, but not so satisfactorily as I could wish. — is very useful, but the cause of much evil, and hated by every soul aboard.

Arrogant, overbearing, and drunken, behind my back—quiet, modest, and abstemious to my face, and I fear I must pronounce him a bad man. I regret to find it so, and shall, probably in the end, be obliged to curb him tight, or discharge him. I shall probably send Washington an account of some of the places in Borneo when I return, and then I shall expect a good notice in the papers. The proceedings of the expedition should be kept before the public.

Since being here M—— has surveyed the corner of this island as yet undone, and I have been up the Peloi river on the Peninsula, a sketch of which is by me, I have no time to enter into particulars, save to say that it is a noble stream, but unfortunately barred at its entrance. We traced one and chief branch of the river to its source, and another very high up to the residence of a Malay rajah, brother of the Tumagong, or hereditary High Admiral of Singapore—he was very civil, and we “*swore eternal friendship*.” I have pretty well made myself acquainted with Singapore, its laws, government, &c. The country is undulating—the highest eminence, called Bukite-Timah, or Tin Hill, is 448 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the sea level—I tried it twice—the second time it came out 446 $\frac{1}{2}$, but the tide was at the height of the spring. And now fare-thee-well for to-day.

21st July.—Away at last to-morrow. This is my farewell to civilised life for a term, so you must not expect to hear of me for some time to come, perhaps as

much as four or five months. I must harp on an old string, and tell you, again and again, that though letters of April have been received in this colony, I have not a line from one living soul—friend or foe. Now mark me, Monsieur Jaques, I should be savage with you and all my own family, and all the corresponding circle of my acquaintances, but that I know and feel assured you are quite innocent. One of the most provoking parts of this detention of my letters is, that my mind constantly dwells on the folios which your kindness has written, and is writing. All intelligence of importance contained within a single sheet, should be sent to me overland, more especially from February to October. I could write a very long letter but have not space or time. The French expedition has been here, but only stayed two days. I made their acquaintance. In natural history they will do good. In geography I have my doubts—and I think some of their claims to the discovery of lands to the southward will be disputed. It appears to me to be a great error running over the ground in the way they do. Two days to this place—a week for the south coast of Borneo! and the like. Monsieur Dumont D'Urville, their commodore, published a brief account of his proceedings in the newspaper here, and I took the liberty, on the following week, to cut him up gently for what I considered an unwarrantable attack upon Weddell. I have little to add—Peter is well grown and happy, and does not want to come home, for I have just asked him.

Before closing, I have to advise you that Nos. 2 and 3 of birds and 4 of shells will be despatched per "William Parker" to Gardner. I have written to Waterhouse about seeing them. The French account and my letter I will put in the shell-box, pray hand them to Washington, and give him, with my regards, the news I send you. When I return I trust to send him some interesting papers and information. Mr. Whewell is not forgotten—pray learn if you can, who made the observations on the tides at Singapore. My kind kind love to all at Bridport collectively and individually. I came here a poor wretch. I go strong and well—anything but cold. God bless you, dear Jack—say all that is kind to the Priors, and

Believe me,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 11.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Sarawak, 35 miles in the interior of Borneo,
August 20, 1839.

MY DEAR JACK,

I COMMENCE a letter for two or three good reasons : first, because it gives me satisfaction ; second, because I promised so to do ; third, because I am going to make a boat excursion into the interior, and may never come back ; as yet the highest success has attended us, and although we have not done much, we have done it well. From Singapore, which we left a month ago, we crossed over in two days to Tanjong Api, discovering an island not laid down : at Tanjong Api we formed a base line, and laid down the Bay between it and Tanjong Dattu. We then proceeded into this Bay, landing at various places, and sounding in sundry directions, and found it quite clear of danger. After two days we proceeded to Tanjong Dattu, and by sets of sights verified the trigonometrical survey. These agreed quite well, and being but a few days from Singapore, and the chronometers going well, there was no fear of them. Tanjong Dattu of the charts, is from seventy to eighty miles, too far to the E. and N. I do not mention particulars, for I have them not at hand. From Dattu we entered the next Bay, and formed a fresh base (no islands in the offing allowing

us the advantage of the first) and surveyed with great care between Dattu and Sepang.

The Bay comprised between these points is about four hundred miles in extent, and of some depth. The two islands of Talong Talong are situated in the centre of the Bight. The mountain of Poè (Anglice Poa) rises on the main of Borneo, close to its brink, not less than four thousand feet. At one corner is the river Lundu, and near the extremity of Sepang, the noble mountain of Santobong, close to which is the entrance of the Sarawak river. The entrance of the river is somewhat difficult, but has quarter less three fathom at the first of the ebb. We anchored just inside, in seven and half fathom, and dispatched a boat to the Rajah Muda Hassim. After many inquiries of our boat people, he despatched a Pangeran of rank to welcome us up. The scenery at the entrance of the Sarawak is noble, the peak of Santobong clothed in richest verdure, rises close to the right bank; straggling trees, mixed with cliffs, crown the summit, a white beach, fringed with casuarinas, light and elegant, finishes the whole. Wild hogs in abundance, but as shy as though they had been fired at all their lives, and some fine grey pigeons, very large, but we got none. We dropped up the river, taking a hasty survey, to the town of Kuchin (or Cat Town), the distance is thirty-five or thirty-seven miles, water generally deep, but here and there with awkward rocks; on one of these, being ignorant of the river, we were swept by an

eddy of tide, but got off without harm, though had the ebb been running, our position would have been critical ! The following morning we anchored off the town, and fired one and twenty guns to the rajah ; we went on shore and visited him, and were received with marked distinction, he always addressing me as “ Tuan Besar,” or “ great man.” The limits of a letter forbid my giving you details, but I must say a word of Rajah Muda Hassim—a little man, mid-aged, with a plain but intelligent face. He is the uncle of the Sultan of Borneo, and virtually the governor of the vast country lying between Point Dattoo and the north of Borneo. He is a man of *first rate ability*, and very partial to the English. Sarawak or Kuchin is a newly established place, and one likely to prove important in a commercial point of view. Antimony ore is produced in any quantity—gold, tin, rattans, beeswax and birds’ nests are likely procured from the surrounding country, and at the place itself is a white clay, excellent for pipes, and which the Dutch would prize. In short, in the opinion of the Malays, it is richer than any other locality along the whole line of coast. Two days were wasted in ceremony, the rajah visited us, and we visited the rajah’s brother, Muda Mahommed, a sulky savage. In the evening of the same day, I intimated my wish to be allowed to visit various places in the rajah’s territory, particularly some Dyak tribes. I received his permission, to my surprise, to go to Samarahan and Lundu—the latter full of Dyaks, but

he informed me that he would not answer for my safety going up the river, as he was at war with some rebellious subjects. I was too glad to get this permission, and to-morrow morning we start on the first of these excursions. On the evening of the same day, we were surprised by a visit from the Pangeran Makota, the third in rank, and the governor of the place when the rajah is absent. He came after dark, and stayed till ten, and we had a most interesting discussion on the trade and future prospects of this place. He informed me in the first place, that he had received a letter from the Sultan of Sambas (*i. e.* Dutch), offering to assist in opening the mines, and requesting permission to trade with this country; he had not yet answered the letter; he did not himself like the Dutch, but feared to take on himself the consequences of a refusal. The rajah had told him to act as he thought proper, but he wished the rajah to authorize him; would I speak to the rajah on the the subject. Certainly, I replied, I would do so with pleasure if he wished it. He then went on to say that three English vessels from Singapore had already been here and taken away a cargo of antimony ore; but when the country was established, and its resources brought into action, could I answer for a sufficient number of English vessels coming here to take the produce? I replied, that if protected from outrage, it was a matter beyond doubt; and that wherever there was a profitable trade, ships in plenty would be found. His next question was, in case the Dutch attacked them, would the English government,

in consideration of the trade with the territory of Borneo Proper, enter into a treaty to give them aid—in short a defensive alliance? I replied that I had no warrant to answer such a question, but that my opinion was, that they would *not* interfere in the concerns of a foreign power, adding that their not doing so, was the best proof that the Borneons could have that in trading with them, they had nothing to apprehend. I continued, that he must well know that the Dutch had never established themselves on the territory of any Malay prince without ultimately laying claim to it: I instanced Sambas and Sumatra; and that they were doing the same at Balli and Lombok. I told him they were always ready to make large advances in money for trade, for which they took a mortgage of land; they *assisted* in opening a country, and founded claims on the assistance so given, that it was easy to let them come, but I feared he would find it difficult to get rid of them ever after, and that the most fatal consequences might ensue to his country, which (he knew) was the last Malay state of any power not under Dutch influence. He granted all this—allowed their extreme jealousy of the Dutch, *but—but* in case they went to war? I replied, did he ever remember an instance when the Dutch had made war without first having a footing in a Malay state. He did not remember, and I told him so open a violation was *not* the danger; the danger to the rajah was their coming here on friendly terms.

27th.—We have returned from our trip from Sama-

rahan—a noble river navigable for fifty or sixty miles. Inhabitants few, but most of the land cleared, producing quantities of rice of the finest quality. We have been one hundred miles up this stream, and turned back with regret, on our attendant Pangerans insisting on it, but the abundant river had dwindled into a stream not broader than just to allow us to pull clear of the trees in the Skimalong. The geological features of the country are primitive granite mountains, filled in with a rich alluvial soil of great extent, which is in every part intersected by fine rivers.

Close to this are the rivers Samarahu, Moratabas, Quop, Riam, Sarawak—most of them rivers equal to the Thames, in width and depth save at their entrances. I am writing this in haste at Sarawak, having an opportunity of sending it by a Malay proa, bound to Singapore. Muda Hassim and James Brooke are great friends, and I think I shall get a passport either now, or at some other time, to visit the whole of his kingdom. The day after to-morrow we start from Lundu to visit three tribes of Dyaks—the tribes of Lundu, Sibuyou and Rarah, the latter in the territory of Sambas under the Dutch. I could cross to Sambas, but I dislike the idea of placing myself at the mercy of the Dutch of that place. As a summary, dear Jack, say, we have already executed a survey of fifty or sixty miles of the coast, which may be called entirely new.

We have been one hundred miles, or nearly, up the

noble river Samarahu, never before mentioned, and through many parts of the country, and many new rivers; we are on the full progress of research, and this cruise I hope to finish this coast, and see a good deal of the country besides. My great object is to get among the Dyaks of Rejang and Bintulu; the latter are tattooed, and use the sumpit or blow-pipe. I am forming a vocabulary of their different languages, and lean strongly to the opinion that they are not the same race—language, habits, manners, being different, so I am told. Soon I hope to tell you something from personal observation. Tell my family of this letter; send it to them and yours, for I have not time to write another. Our next civilized place will be Manilla, whence you shall hear. Natural history does not flourish, for there is no shooting or seeing anything in these jungles. Birds and monkeys are plenty, and I am told when we get among the Dyaks we shall get plenty of all sorts; I doubt, but I hope. My love to all—kind regards to Washington, who shall have a regular budget soon.

I must not omit to mention that the climate here is very *healthy* and cool, the thermometer often at 78°, sometimes 76°; never more than 85°, and that very rarely. The nights are so chilly that in the boat I am glad to have my boat-cloak wrapped round me. Once again adieu, and ever believe me,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

CHAPTER III.

OCTOBER 19, 1839, TO APRIL 23, 1841.

No. 12.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Singapore, Oct. 19, 1839.

MY DEAR JACK,

I COMMENCE this not in the best humour in the world, in the hope it will rid me of some of the weary time, which hangs like lead upon my hands. Know then, my friend, that I quitted the Moratabas river on the coast of Borneo eight days ago, and, having beat every inch of the way across to the mouth of the Singapore, we had the inexpressible gratification of three days' calm—most anxious for my letters, and the intelligence from home. Short of provisions, and void of the luxuries of life, this delay is beyond conception, vexatious. It is, however, the lot of all who sail these summer climes, and though as I before said, I am

sadly out of patience, I endeavour to fortify myself with a thousand pleasant dreams of futurity. Have you received my last letter written from Kuchin, and dispatched by a Borneo proa; methinks you have not, but till I am sure of the fact I shall not restate anything I therein said, but give you a brief and general account of our late cruise. In the first place I have been able to establish the most intimate and friendly footing with the Rajah of Borneo,—the ruler of the country—and I have every prospect of being able in the ensuing season, to see the whole of his country. An unfortunate rebellion prevented my penetrating so far as I intended into the interior of Borneo, but nevertheless, we have done a good deal. We have surveyed 130 or 140 miles of coast, never before visited by Europeans, and laid down minutely the rivers, prominences, &c., from personal inspection, and I have lived amongst a Dyak tribe called the Sibuyaws, for ten days, and have seen and visited other Dyaks so as to become well acquainted with their habits, manners, customs, and in some measure their language. I have ascended various rivers (the entire country is a network of rivers) to the distance of thirty to seventy miles; the principal ones are the Sadung, Sarawak, Sampealean, Lundu, &c., and some of them, streams navigable for large vessels, and all, affording excellent means of inland communication. These rivers have been reduced to our survey, and as far as they go, will give an excellent idea of the country. The geological charac-

ter of the country consists of granitic mountains, once probably islands, filled up with a fine alluvial soil—the interior, as far as I have seen, presents the same features, but I have not been able to ascertain the extent of any mountain range, though I conceive such must exist. The native account of the locality of the various and varying tribe of Dyaks I have been very attentive to, and our present cruise has terminated not far from the country and river of Rejang, inhabited by the Kyans. Between Sadung, where we left off, and Rejang is the locality of the Sarebas Dyaks, a powerful, wild, and piratical tribe. It is a curious fact, and one I have established, but which I can develop in future, that the languages of the Dyak tribes all vary greatly. The Kayans are a tattooed people using the sumpit or blow-pipe, the Sarebas Dyaks, their next neighbours are not distinguished by either of these peculiarities. I must mention too that the Dyaks are scrupulously honest—their women chaste—polygamy disallowed—and I incline to the belief that their custom of preserving heads, is similar to the practice of the North American Indians, and to be considered as so many warlike trophies, rather than the brutal and indiscriminate slaughter of friends and strangers, for the purpose of taking their heads, as has been generally represented. I do not mean to say that heads are always, and only, taken in war, but that they usually are, and when otherwise obtained are

passed off, as tokens of a successful foray against some enemy. I believe this is the real state of what is called "Head-Hunting," and with tribes like the Dyaks of Sarebas, who are robbers by land and *pirates* by sea, their hand is against every man, and every man's hand against them. They gave us a specimen of their cunning by surprising a boat with the Panglima Rajah laying under the guns of "Royalist," at the mouth of the Moratabas river, the Panglima Rajah being in attendance upon us. I would have given the fellows a lesson, if I had had an opportunity, but they came in darkness, under the shadow of the hill, and in darkness departed, on our firing a gun and showing a blue light. Out of twelve men in the Malay boat, they wounded four—Panglima severely, with a spear, in the breast—but were gone off before I got to the scene of action in the gig. All's well that ends well—Panglima was recovering—I, when I cooled, rejoiced I had shed no blood, and moreover I possessed myself of a bundle of their spears, left in the Malay boat. Rude instruments they are! To make this intelligible, I must inform you, however, that the boat was laying about fifty yards from the shore, whilst our vessel was anchored near half a mile from her in the middle of the stream. It was a capital lesson for me, for I had no guns loaded. Since that, the watch has always been armed, and in future always shall be. To continue my history. In natural history I consider we have been somewhat

successful, though our stock of birds and beasts is but small; probably amongst them there will be some rare, perhaps new specimens.

Some information I have gained respecting the Ourang Utan, will I think go to prove that the Pongo of Buffon, is not the fabulous animal represented by our modern writers of natural history. I have a young Ourang on board, larger than those in the Zoological, and of the same species; but the natives of Borneo Proper, are positive in asserting, that there are two entirely distinct animals, one called the Mías Rambí or smaller Ourang, which we know in Europe, the other, Mías Pappun, as big or bigger than a man, and with a round face. To confirm the truth of this assertion, I have got the hand of a Mías Pappun, larger than the hand of any man in this vessel, and I cannot persuade myself that age could ever develop the smaller species to the same size. I have likewise got the head (not perfect) of an adult Mías Rambí, which goes further to establish this distinction, and certainly the head of this adult animal never belonged to the same species as the hand. The Mías Rambí is represented as attaining the height of four to five feet—the Mías Pappun to six or seven—and the size of the hand would fully warrant the belief! Look into Cuvier, and you will see what is therein stated on this topic, and you will perceive how little real ground there is beyond a dangerous mode of analogical reasoning, to prove that the skeleton in Paris is the

adult animal of the young specimens in the Zoological Gardens. I treat fully on this subject, because I know it will interest you, and the discovery will be worth making. Perhaps the proofs in my possession will not fully establish the fact, but I feel confident I can procure a dead adult specimen and perhaps a living young one. You shall see the hand shortly. Betsy Mias I shall not send home, but consign to the care of some friend at Singapore, as the genial climate will probably allow her to attain to years of maturity, whence a fair judgment can be formed of the real size of this small species. I have a Wau-Wau, a species of long-armed ape, but the species are very little known. I fear he will never live home, being very delicate. In trade I have been able to accomplish an excellent footing with the Borneons, and a *free permission that English vessels may trade with Borneo*. The Dutch are making great efforts to effect the same objects, and *I have possessed myself of their correspondence* with the governor of Sarawak, the Pangeran Indra Makota, on this subject. They are *positively excluded now*, and well will it be for the last independent Malay state if they have firmness enough to withstand all their tempting overtures of money and assistance. The English might, tomorrow, enter into a treaty with the Borneons, which would give them the trade of their country. Our apathy is astonishing, for it not only disdains present advantages, but neglects prospective benefits. You may judge from what you know of my sentiments, how

far I have thought right when asked my opinion to express it to the native prince. As an English gentleman, without interest or partiality, I have for his own safety strongly recommended him never to allow any government, or any body of white men to settle in his country.

Now, my dear Jack, I beg of you to stand up and let me hit you in the face!! Are you not a pretty fellow? I left England in December, and in October following, I have received only *one* letter from you—dated in March. I must explain to you, that the communication to Singapore is speedy, if letters are forwarded by proper conveyance. From February to September, letters ought to be sent by the overland mail, and in the other season likewise, occasionally. If ships do not sail directly, keep not your letters but forward them by Calcutta. Parcels, of course, may come by Singapore-bound vessels. Another thing, *mon ami*. Here am I, an author! and you never send me a single copy of my *Anti Papistical*!* I have not much more to say, except that you must not trust to Gardner, or Wise, to forward the letters; and mind you get all the boxes out of their hands as soon as they come, and when you have satisfied your own curiosity, make them over to Waterhouse. If the boxes of specimens are left long in Gardner's office, they will be rotten when opened. I sail hence in a few days for Malacca and thence to Celebes, after

* A pamphlet written by Mr. Brooke, and which was in the press when he left England.

which, I return in the proper season, to the north-west coast of Borneo.

My kind regards to all your party at home, and ever, dear Jack, believe me,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

P. S.—I have some boxes of birds and curiosities coming to you soon, but you shall receive due notice.

No. 13.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Singapore, Nov. 12, 1839.

MY DEAR JACK,

A FEW lines before I depart for the north-east coast of Borneo and Celebes, to say that all is well. At the same time let me apprise you of two boxes of birds and curiosities. The former of course can go, after you have inspected them, to the Zoological. Some specimens amongst our Borneo collection, will be found scarce if not new. A list of these things you will find in the larger box. Gardner will give room to the curiosities if you cannot. There are some articles I want tested by chemists, or commercial men. When I have gained more information I will send a paper to the Geographical Society, to let the world know what I am about, and on that occasion these curiosities, with many more which I have got, or shall get, can be displayed. Pray present Harvey the suit of Borneo armour to adorn his ancient hall, and the large Illanun

sword to match. They may as well, however, be shown at the proper time. Give him at the same time, my kind regards. In the box likewise, are sundry mats—the white one gaily trimmed with red, will do admirably for your sister, and any of the Dyak ones you like to keep for yourself, pray do.

I rejoice to hear you are so comfortable and get on so well. I would fain have you with me, provided it was for your good. We should then indeed lead a pleasant and agreeable life, and a life of some hardships, would be enlivened by companionship. Stick to the law, however, dear Jack, and the law will stick to you.

The history of my late cruise to Borneo, has agitated the society here, and whilst the merchants have presented me with an address of thanks—the government, or rather the governor, has been cooler to me than before. *He* would fain have me lay aside all politics, but whilst I see such treachery and baseness on one part, and such weakness, imbecility, and indifference on the other, I will continue to upraise my voice at fitting seasons. I will not leave my native friends to be deceived and betrayed by either white nation and, (what the governor does not like) I will speak bold truths to native ears, convinced that it is the best means of preserving the independence of the Malay states, as it is the only line an English gentleman could take, who seeks their friendship, and enters their country with no other object than their good, and his own improvement. Don't think, however, that I would

intrude, or force opinion or advice. Until asked, I am silent. If I was governor of the Straits, with power to restrict the Dutch, I would spread the British name and commerce through many channels now shut, or unknown.

One thing I regret not having tried to effect whilst at home, and that is getting a knighthood, a civic knighthood. You know me well enough to believe that such a distinction would never be sought by me except to answer some purpose.

I believe the mere name would be very useful to me with natives and Europeans in this country—at home, I would not accept it, or wear the title, and though convinced of its utility, I will not beg or ask it; there are beggars enough in England. If they please to give it me on public grounds, as a barren reward, to facilitate a praiseworthy object, I would accept it.

I have written to Washington, but in haste. After another visit to the north-west coast, I will send a paper to the Geographical, as I before said, and he will then be able to follow me—keep him, however, informed on all these matters, and let him, or any of his friends, inspect the curiosities. Many kind regards to all your party at Bridport and Greenwich.

Poor ——, how I grieve for him, yet I cannot assist him. Such a propensity must be his ruin particularly when carried to such a desperate extent.—Desperate, I may, indeed, call it, for I am sure that, after being obliged to quit the service, he will lose

all self-respect, and hurry forward in his fatal career. Carry my kind remembrances to his good aunts. I was pleased to hear that I——'s boy contrived to get into the school, for he is a good man, though never fitted to command a clipper. Hart is well, and gives satisfaction. All hands well and healthy, and contented. M—— better. Creswick has quitted me, not choosing to bear some restrictions which I thought necessary to lay upon him. He is a ruined man, from his own stupid folly. You never mention how Billy* gets on, yet I wanted to hear.

Ever dear Jack, affectionately yours,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. Drop a line to South Broom, to say you have heard. I wrote my sister two or three days since.

No. 14.

Fragment of a letter addressed to JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq., the first part having been lost.

(Date uncertain, supposed—)

Singapore, June, 1840.

A SHIP sails to-morrow morning for Calcutta, and my letter is already so long, that I have not much time to add to it. Let me proceed at once to my own proceedings. Leaving Singapore, we made a wretched passage to Bouthian, a small Dutch settlement, on the south of Celebes. It is distinguished by the mountain of Lumper-Batang, or Big-Belly. A party

* A brother of the Editor.

from "Royalist," were the first Europeans who ever reached the summit. Scenery grand, and most lovely—the barometric height nearly eight thousand feet. From Bouthian, we proceeded into the Bay of Boni, by the inner passage, which is clear, without any rocks, as stated by Horsburg. This bay is one hundred and eighty miles long, by an average breadth of from forty to fifty miles—the survey is quite new. It abounds in coral reefs, to lay down which was beyond our power; but we sailed up, and surveyed one side, and down the other. The geographical features of the country must be briefly stated. The range of Lumper-Batang divides the southern limb of Celebes, and nearly meets a range from Lybayang to the north. Between this range, of about two thousand average feet, are lower mountains to the eastward, and an alluvial plain, differing, at the southern part of the bay, from three or four miles to twenty, in breadth. The mountains running to the S.S.W., beyond the kingdom of Boni, form a more extensive plain, with the fine river of Chiarova, as marked in the chart, Boni. Up this river is an inland lake, or lakes, of some extent, in the Wajo country, and an undulating plain, from a ridge of low sandstone mountains to the sea. Beyond the basin of the lake, towards the north, the strip is gradually curtailed, and the mountain of Lybayang sends its spurs to the sea-side. Lybayang is certainly not less than ten thousand feet. In the N.W. angle of the bay is Palepo the capital of Luwn, the most ancient Bugis state, situated amid

mountains, which likewise surround the head of the bay, and run down its eastern side. On the eastern side is Gunang-Susana. The eastern side is a wild, beautiful region, inhabited by wild people—one part called Menkoka. They are a sort of Dyaks. The wild tribes about Luwn are known as Turagahs. The latter I had only an opportunity of seeing in Luwn, as the country is greatly distracted by internal factions. The navigation is awful. I thought “Royalist” would have left her bones there, but she escaped untouched. Sometimes we could count thirty coral-patches from our masthead, and we had to sail through them by eye. These coral-patches all follow one rule of formation. From whatever water the mud-bottom is composed of, the first cast shallows, and thence runs steep to the crown of the reef. For instance, the first cast from twenty-five fathoms is seven, the next two, and then the crown of the reef, about four or five feet all over. You see how briefly I am obliged to state. The natives are more interesting than their country—bold and enterprising—the population numerous—in parts dense—their institutions feudal—elective monarch—hereditary chiefs—acknowledged freemen, not of noble blood—right of freehold property. Pongaras, or tribunes of the people, not noble, and chosen by the people. The chiefs, surrounded by their followers, slaves, or freemen, in their service, make petty wars, and each possess the power of life or death. A council of forty nobles, besides the six great hereditary chiefs, and a general council of all classes, in

cases of emergency. No chief can call the freemen to war—not even the monarch—without the mandate and consent of the three pongaras. I will only add that this is Wajo—the freest of the Bugis states. It is impossible to give this information in a letter, but I flatter myself it is both new and interesting. I went first to Boni, and met with nothing but hostility, armed boats and men, were ready at every point to oppose me. I left them and went to Wajo, where they feasted me. I passed six weeks in the interior—visited the lake, &c., and gained much knowledge of their customs and manners. Thence I returned to Boni, on an invitation, and was most sincerely and politely received. I was most anxious to visit a cave, which was said to be Hindoo, but proved natural! Thence to distracted Luwn, down the east side, saw Dyaks, head-cutters, &c., and out again from starvation! We have four or five hundred miles of coast-line, and a good deal of the interior laid down—native states—customs—manners.

No. 15.

MRS. BROOKE.*

Singapore, June 9, 1840.

MY LOVED MOTHER,

IT is a great delight to tell you that I have returned in good health from my second cruise, which has been quite as successful as the first, though longer. I was

* The mother of Sir James Brooke.

for four months in the Bugis countries, in the deep Bay of Boni, at the south extremity of Celebes. These countries are beautiful, much clearer of wood than any other part of the archipelago I have seen, and diversified with mountain and plain. We ascended one mountain, called Lumper-Batang, which was eight thousand feet high—the most lovely scenery, combining the charms of an upland region, with the luxuriant vegetation of these favoured climes. The navigation of the Bay of Boni is intricate and difficult, and I often feared “Royalist” would leave her bones there, but with care, we escaped untouched. Had the vessel been lost, we should have been quite safe ourselves, for the natives are an open-hearted and hospitable race. My health, dearest mother, continued remarkably good all the time I was out. I will not tell you anything more about my voyage, but let me set your mind at rest, by assuring you I have not the slightest intention of proceeding to China. Every one seems to conclude I shall go, and I shan’t, just to disappoint them—what should I do there? I want not to smell gunpowder, or look on at slaughter. Templer will tell you plenty about me soon—I do not like the detail, because I mean to give it to the Geographical, as soon as I can muster courage enough—but it is pleasanter doing than saying. I am really becoming *a great man*, dearest mother; the world talks of me! the rulers of England threaten to write to me! newspapers call me patriotic and adventurous! the Geographical

Society pays me compliments! Am I not a great man? I wish I had fortune, and then they should see that I deserve something. At present, my sphere, though I am well content with it, is very cramped. With more fortune, I would come home, and return to this field and finish it, and that would be a solid monument of fame, for it would rest on grounds which reflection approves. I would say more, but I am in a great hurry. I intended to write you a very long letter, but the unexpected departure of the ship for Calcutta, has cheated you and me. I know however to hear I am very well will give you pleasure, and ease any anxiety which the length of my absence may have occasioned you. Write to me often. Many many loves to my dear sisters and their little ones, to Anthony and Charles.*

Your ever affectionate son,

J. BROOKE.

No. 16.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Singapore, July*13, 1840.

MY DEAR JACK,

A FEW lines, and a few lines only; since my last I have nothing to communicate, as I am living quietly, and "Royalist" refitting, which she wanted sadly.

* Anthony Savage, Esq., and the Rev. F. C. Johnson, Rector of White Lackington, Sir James Brooke's brothers-in-law.

— has behaved badly since I wrote last. The circumstances I related to you, were sufficient to justify my sending him ashore, but I did not wish to expose myself to the charge of ungenerous conduct towards a man who held the situation of a gentleman.

Accordingly, I paid handsomely for his being ashore, and told him that, although I expected he would defray part of his passage home, I would pay the rest. On these terms, he expressed himself anxious to complete his charts, and I allowed him to take them, with all the books of reference, my field-book, observations, log-book, tide-book, &c. A month passed, he would do nothing, was drunk always, and evidently wishing to live at my expense, as long as my good humour permitted. I therefore informed him, he must finish his charts off-hand, and take his passage home. My gentleman chose to return no answer, and at last, being pressed, he said he would not go home—returned me the charts unfinished—and refused point blank to deliver any of the materials with which the chart might be constructed or corrected. I instantaneously agitated, threatened, and was prepared to push him with law, but, mentioning my situation to the governor, he managed to get most of my books, with which, I fear, I must be content, as the animal is in a constant state of drunkenness, and really does not know what he has, or what he has not. On looking at his work, I find too, that he is a regular cook, and if things do not suit his ideas, he makes them.

Treacher, my surgeon, leaves me, being obliged to do so on private affairs; he is a *gentleman*, amiable and professionally clever. I have been *able* to replace him by a gentleman called —. Treacher will come and see you. He brings with him the “Brooke Diamond,”* and other things, M——’s charts, books, &c. I will send by the same opportunity to Washington and B—— a paper of my remarks. I think now, though I cannot make pretty charts, I shall have true ones. I begin this time at Tanjong Api, run over last year’s work, revisit Sarawak, see the Kyans, and then proceed close in with the coast to Borneo Proper—my fame is up amongst the Malay rajahs, and I ought now to be beginning. I shall get the May letter from you, but the rest will be received at Manilla. Many loves, and kind regards to all,

And believe me ever, dear Jack,
Your affectionate friend,
J. BROOKE.

No. 17.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Singapore, August 17, 1840.

MY DEAR JACK,

THIS is but a brief letter, to introduce to you Mr. Treacher, my surgeon, who has been called home

* It proved to be a white topaz.

by the urgent appeal of his father. You will find him a cheerful and agreeable companion, a man of honour and a gentleman; and it will give me pleasure if you will make his acquaintance, and hear all about our Celebes' cruise.

By the "Crescent" I have despatched two boxes of birds. The larger is mine, being the collection made in Celebes, and can be disposed of as usual; the smaller box belongs to —, and I have sent it for him to your care, as I know you will take care of it for him. The youngster is well, and behaves much to my satisfaction.

Treacher has likewise under his charge a box for you, which, when you have opened and examined, send with the accompanying letter to Washington, having first taken out the seeds and geological specimens. The three newspapers refer to my affairs; the earlier was written and signed S., in defence of Weddell against d'Urville; the others are in my own name, accounts of the Borneo and Celebes cruises. From these and the geographical sketch I have sent Washington, he can furnish a paper if he likes; but I cannot express to you how great a disgust I have felt for using my pen about my own labours. If I do hunt a butterfly, I begin to despise it when caught. Read with attention the account of the constitution of Wajo; it is peculiar and striking, and quite new. I have much more regarding their government, habits, manners, &c., which will be valuable. And what

think you, Mr. Jack? I have written a brief grammar of their language. It certainly is bold in a man who does not know his own grammar to dabble in that of another; but still (having guides) I think I have done it well. 3rdly. Treacher has in charge the (is to be) celebrated "Brooke Diamond." It is a remarkable stone, be it diamond or crystal. Look at it, and be wise. I call it the *eye-bright*.

Your May letter reached me a few days since, and at the same time your letter of the 17th May, 1839. Where the devil has it been? Thank you for your kind congratulations on my safe arrival at the Cape of Good Hope! This is all about my dear self, or my dear self's affairs; but I cannot help it.

I waited the May mail because I thought—I might almost write hoped—the hinted communication of ——— would have come to hand; but it came not. I should greatly have liked to have been dashingly employed or usefully; but to have joined the fleet *en amateur*, without something to do, is not in my nature. As for privateering, though I talk about it, I am too proud to dirty my hands with such a trade. Do let me tell you, however, that the China war, in my opinion, is just and politic. The more we submit, the more we treat, the more we are bullied. I cannot say more; but I send herewith some brief remarks made on an article in the "Spectator." God bless you.

Ever your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 18.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Singapore, August 17, 1840.

MY DEAR JACK,

NEVER did mortal man take up his pen with more reluctance than I do. The pen itself is rascally bad, the ink worse, and my humour worst of all ; yet I struggle against all these difficulties to write you a few lines, just to say that I sail for Borneo to-morrow morning ; from Borneo I get to Manilla ; and from Manilla probably cross to China ; beyond that I know nothing. After this cruise to Borneo I shall feel that I have done fully as much as I promised the public, except going to New Guinea, which I abandon with reluctance, but from prudential motives, for I do not intend to involve myself for the public benefit, and my money, which I have devoted to this voyage, is running low. Treacher had a box of charts and things for you to forward to the Geographical, and likewise a very fine crystal, which I call the "Brooke Diamond," procured in Borneo from a native for a very small sum. If it be not valuable, it is very ornamental, and will make a beautiful head to a cane.

Your long and kind letter for May, dear Jack, reached me in due course. I replied to parts of it by Treacher, and will now only thank you again. Continue to write, and that about the first or second of the month, as then the overland brings the latest accounts.

All my letters will be forwarded to Manilla, where I shall have the satisfaction of getting them. There has not been a single ship sailed for Sydney, since I came back, nor is it indeed likely to be ; therefore Jem, instead of a letter, will have a pleasant surprise in seeing me in person unannounced. I long much to see him, and find out what he is about ; but as he is content and happy, it is everything.

Most people I meet here speak very badly of New South Wales ; and, indeed, I am inclined to agree, that, to a poor, unassisted, and raw emigrant, it is no earthly heaven, but like other places. With good friends and a genteel circle it cannot but be agreeable.

My May letters brought me melancholy accounts of ——'s second daughter, who was in a precarious and dangerous state of health ; and at the same time I regretted to learn that your poor Fred* was likewise ill. As, however, you do not say much on the subject, I trust he may be well again. I am very glad Billy* has quite recovered. Give my kind regards to him and Charley,* who will, on receipt of this, be both at Westminster School. Say all that is kind to the Priors, and convey my warmest good wishes, individually and collectively, to Bridport. I am ashamed of myself for not being a better correspondent with Harry ;* but he will excuse me, considering circumstances. And now, dear Jack, may you be well and happy, and pleased with law studies. Soon I hope to

* Brothers of the Editor.

hear of your débüt at the bar. It is a trying thing, but you have nerve for anything, and will succeed as you deserve. You never in your letters mention M——. I fear his lot, of his own making, will be a gloomy one. Roupell, &c., &c., give my regards to Harvey's flight to the Dead Sea rather surprised me; and I cannot help hoping he has got some pleasant companion, to bear the fatigues of the way. My Borneo boxes were sent home in the "Vanguard," and there are no accounts of her yet. I hope luck is not against us. The Celebes' collection is in the "Crescent," one of Gardner's vessels. Farewell! be well, be happy, is the wish of

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 19.

MRS. BROOKE.

Singapore, April 7, 1841.

MY LOVED MOTHER,

I WROTE you a hurried letter, the day after I returned from Borneo, and it was the only one in time for that mail. This ought to succeed it the following month. The first will have set you at rest as to my safety and health, though it may have rendered you restless as to my plans. Do not start when I say that I am going to settle in Borneo, that I am about to endeavour to plant there a mixed colony, amid a wild but not un-

virtuous race, and to become the pioneer of European knowledge, and native improvement ; all men of intelligence will look upon the undertaking with favourable eyes, for even its failure must advantage the trade of England, and give the poor natives a favourable impression of our countrymen. These are my intentions, and I have to tell you what led to all this. My kind feeling for the Rajah Muda Hassim, took me a second time to Sarawak, and I found him in great difficulty to suppress the rebellion which had been raging for four years. I proposed staying a week, but on notifying my departure, he urged—he prayed me so strongly not to desert him, that I could not do it. I stayed, and in three months accomplished what he had been unable to do in three years. I beat the rebels from their strongholds, and brought them to an unconditional surrender—subsequently I had a difficult task, but I did save the lives of all who did surrender, though they had most justly been forfeited, whether in Borneo or in England. That I accomplished this without some trouble and great exertion you will easily believe to be impossible, and to my mother, I may own, that nothing but talents and temper, and the greatest forbearance, could have done it at all. Muda Hassim, during the war, supported me, as he knew he must do for his own interest, and at the end of the war he frankly professed that my assistance had alone saved the country, and that my support was absolutely necessary to him. He concluded by offering me the government of the country

of Sarawak. After a month of negotiation, I accepted the offer, on condition that he should give me his sincere support and assistance in saving the lower classes from oppression and pillage. If this can be effected, there can be no doubt of ultimate success.

Sarawak, as you know already, is a fine river; the productions of the country, and those surrounding, are unrivalled, and there is a fine indigenous population of Dyaks, who, when free from the rapacity of their rulers, will advance in civilisation; besides these, my chief dependence is in the Chinese, who are the most industrious people in the world, and admirably calculated for working the mines with which Sarawak abounds. Of these Chinese there are already about 1,000 males, and of Dyaks about 8,000, Malays 1,500. The Chinese population, however, is daily increasing, and after three years will become subject to a tax. In the mean time the Chinese are a check upon the Malay, and both parties eager to have somebody who can stand between them. Reckoning the taxation at the lightest, it will at present produce sufficient to pay the officers employed, and in prospective how great ought it not to be, when the country is becoming prosperous, and trade flourishing. Borneo, a country so little known, and only known by being so rich—with an aboriginal population free from prejudice, who, to the missionary, offers a field for his vocation not found elsewhere—with produce, of which not one-thousandth part is gathered, and which, when trade is once introduced,

would be exchanged for British manufacture. With a soil capable of producing all the rare commodities of the East, and minerals as frequent and plenty as in any known part of the globe. To science, to geography, &c., what a field does this vast island offer, with a salubrious climate, cool mountain ranges, noble rivers for communication with the interior—all present facilities, which it is strange if an active and intelligent people do not avail themselves of. I have done this, I now present the fruit of my labours and my fortune, and I believe a short time will so develop the country as to render the advantage clear to all eyes.

I might ask you to use all the interest you possess, in forwarding my success, but I know it is little interest you have, and what you have, you are not fond of using, and I hate private influence—I despise it, and if public grounds are not sufficient, I would not eke them out by jobbing. I am quite well—some news I will write before I sail for Borneo, but just now I am a wretched correspondent. Many loves to all, and believe me, ever loved mother,

Your affectionate son,

J. BROOKE.

No. 20.

MRS. BROOKE.

Singapore, April 18, 1841.

MY LOVED MOTHER,

I REALLY have excellent hopes that this effort of mine will succeed ; and whilst it ameliorates the condition of the unhappy natives, and tends to the highest promotion of philanthropy, it will secure to me some better means of carrying through these grand objects ;—I call them grand objects for they are so, when we reflect that civilization, commerce, and religion may, through them, be spread over so vast an island as Borneo. They are so grand that self is quite lost when I consider them, and even the failure would be so much better than the non-attempt, that I would willingly sacrifice myself, as nearly as the barest prudence will permit.

Before I leave this place I propose sending to Templer a brief memorandum of the state of the country, the events which have led to my acquiring so great an influence, and the means by which I hope to hold and to improve it. Had I been other than I am, had I sought for wealth or aggrandisement I should never have obtained the hold I have on the natives ; and now that it is obtained, if self was the moving principle I might gain something ; but no real benefit would accrue to the natives. I may be, my mother, my own enemy, but I will never be an enemy to the human race, or to the numerous tribes who look to me

for aid. I will never desert the principles I have cherished in secret through my whole life, that any paltry personal wealth is scarcely worth the seeking save as a means, and that to devote a life to its acquisition is inimical to the higher virtues. *I should like to be wealthy*, but my present voyage finished, I need no great yearly income to make me as happy as I can be. I have resources in books, in my pen, and my reflections. I love children and flowers. I love nature in every phase, and with all these objects I can never want for a moderate share of content ; and with your society, that of my sisters, and a few rational friends, I can scarce wish for more. This is taking the future in the quietest light ; but I trust there may be marked out for me a more useful existence—an existence which will enable me to lay my head on my pillow, and say I have done something to better the condition of my kind, and to deserve their applause. Their applause, I do not seek particularly, but to deserve the commendation of good and intelligent men, is a stimulus to pursue the path of goodness and intelligence. Are these dreams, my mother? or are they the rational aspirations that should guide us? I believe the latter ; but if they be but the former, they are dreams which you know I have long cherished, and which I will not part with now.

I will try to give you a very brief account of what I have done, and am going to do. The native Malay states are sunk into the lowest degree of internal weakness, but with a vast reverence for their hereditary

chiefs. Muda Hassim, the Bandara of Borneo, is the second person in that kingdom. Till we met, he never before saw an English gentleman, and the gentleness of my manners (I may talk of it to you) gained great influence over him during my first visit of three months;—added to this, was the real and sincere interest I took in his affairs, and the candid advice I gave him, of the manner to conduct his government towards European nations. Heaven is my witness that in offering this counsel I had nothing in view, but his prosperity. On my arrival the second time, I found him involved in suppressing a rebellion which had lasted for nearly four years, and which he had left Borneo purposely to put down. I found his adherents lukewarm and cowardly, and the poor rajah was beset with feeble friends; his pride deeply mortified with the conviction that success was impossible. My visit was of the utmost importance, and he urged me by all the claims of friendship and kindness, not to desert him in his distress. I could not, and would not do it; but I demanded full authority if I took the field with my Europeans. This I obtained, and throughout, he showed the utmost candour and sincerity in his dealing with me. You may imagine the incongruous mass I had to deal with—Malays, Chinese, and twenty different tribes of Dyaks, formed our small army, headed by twelve Europeans. At first I could do nothing with them; but after a time the greater number followed me more willingly. After marching and counter-marching, building stockades without number, and on one occasion

coming to a pitched battle on the plain, in which we were completely victorious; we overcame the rebels, who laid down their arms unconditionally, and gave up their persons to the mercy of their offended rajah. It was a most difficult task to gain their lives, but I did manage it at last, and the country was restored to peace and quiet, and Muda Hassim's authority fully established. The war being over, the little man urged me much to stay with him, and offered me the government of the country of Sarawak, to be held under him, and on the payment of a stipulated yearly sum to the sultan, the revenues and trade to be placed in my hands. I pointed out to him the principal difficulty to this arrangement, which was, a European undertaking such a government without being certain of local assistance. He readily conceded the necessity of this, and promised that one of his brothers should always reside at Sarawak. I then stated to him that it was impossible the country could prosper, whilst the government continued to exact so arbitrarily the produce of the country. I insisted on the necessity of a light fixed tax on rice, and the abolition of all other exactions. To carry this point, and to abolish forced labour, was my great object; but it was necessary at the same time, to guard against offending the pride, or the prejudices of the Malays. Finding the rajah very willing, we next turned over the ancient laws of Borneo, the laws by which they profess still to govern, and there we found all that was necessary for our purpose. On my return then, I propose through the rajah, promul-

gating this *old code*, and visiting all the Dyak tribes, to make them acquainted with it. The produce of their labour will then be at their own disposal, and an encouragement, offered to industry ; as it is, the poor Dyak, labours, but is robbed of his produce, by some chief, who gives him a mere nominal price for the most valuable articles—for instance, a small cup full of salt, is exchanged for five pounds worth of beeswax, or bird's-nests. With these gentle reforms, I have strong hopes that the poorer Malays and Dyaks, will be rapidly raised from their present state, and that a happy population, and cultivated country, will succeed the present wretched state of affairs. I need not say, that Sarawak is eminently rich in produce ; amongst the most valuable commodities is gold, which is procurable in large quantities. The enterprising and industrious Chinese, are settled in the country recently, and their numbers will soon increase. From these people, I have received the most pressing solicitations, to take up my abode at Sarawak, for they are well acquainted with the value of English counsels, and English integrity. Where a Chinaman is found, there the land flourishes, mines are dug, and produce of every description is procured. The Chinese are highly calculated, to develope the Dyak ; neither, have any prejudice of religion, they intermarry, and the Dyak falls into the habits of the Chinese, and imitates their industry.

The trade with the Chinese ought to be very great, and in three years they will yield revenue by means of a direct tax, which will compensate for all

the toils and trouble of the first year or two. I propose then, dearest mother, to take up my abode at Sarawak for a year or two—my visits to Singapore will of course be frequent. I shall have my letters as usual, and I shall be employed in a good work ; if success attend me it will probably be considerable ; if not, I can only reflect with pleasure, that my failure must go far to benefit the natives, and increase the trade of England. I do not like the idea of a longer absence ; I shall find happiness, after failure, in embracing you again—in case of success, I shall run home by overland in three months.

To continue, my loved mother, let me ask you, whether these views and endeavours, do not deserve the support of my countrymen. If the Government, by placing me in an easy position, were to try the plan fairly, I am assured that perfect success would attend it. They might, by making me their envoy, form a commercial treaty with Borneo. The very fact of which, would ensure Borneo her independence, and make me the resident commissioner. On public grounds these things would be highly desirable, but my share in the transaction would be greatly diminished. When my memorandum comes home, read it with attention, and do work for me, fight, dear mamma, like a hen for her chicken, and do make our relatives interest themselves in our behalf. They will be proud of me as a relation, *even now*, but I will make them even prouder yet ; and they are good people too, and I like them because they are kind-hearted and gentle ;

you know, I want to be a knight, though you laugh at me, because *Sir James* would be an immensely-important person here. Indeed, it is difficult to tell you, how great the advantage would be, but you know what I *have* done, and whatever I *may* do, is in spite of the most adverse circumstances. So, mamma, do stir yourself, and I will write a little more to-morrow. In four or five days I return to Sarawak. I purpose writing to dear Margaret ere I leave. Many, many loves. South Broom is in beauty now, and when this reaches your dear hands, you will have the enjoyment of summer. Adieu! loved mother.

Ever your affectionate son,

J. BROOKE.

No. 21.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Singapore, April 23, 1841.

MY DEAR JACK,

I CANNOT leave Singapore, without sending you a few lines, though they be few and far between. It is a shame I have not written before; but I am usually a good correspondent, and you must forgive me this time, on promise of a non-like offence. Your last was from Bridport, dated 29th April. Many have gone astray to Manilla, and are daily expected back; but I shall be gone, as I sail for Sarawak to-morrow morning. I thought of writing a sort of memorandum, to

let you and all the world know my future intentions ; but I thought it best to delay it till I was a little more settled, as there is many a slip betwixt the cup and the lip. I wrote Gardner rather a long account, which I dare say he either has, or will, show you. It is curious in one of your letters, that you mention, that these countries must be developed by trade. I agree, and am going to try ; but besides trade, there must be some degree of good government, as the poorer class are only ground, without profiting. I am going to try this too, dear Jack, bold as the enterprize is ; but I should be very proud to open the resources of Borneo, and to ameliorate the condition of its inhabitants.

The Rajah Muda Hassim is a good and a kind man for a Malay. I could hardly have believed I could have liked any native so well. He has offered me the country ; and though I shall not take it openly, I hope to sway him, to govern it well. By degrees the trade must be thrown open. I think, if the government are at all awake to the importance of the island, they will give me some assistance when I ask for it. I sail, as I said, to-morrow, and shall take up my residence for some time ; if successful, for a long time.

God bless you. When settled, I shall be able to indulge in a long—very long—yarn. With kindest love to all, affectionately,

Your friend,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. I give C——, a friend of mine, a letter of introduction to you.

CHAPTER IV.

JULY 24, 1841, TO DECEMBER 10, 1841.

No. 22.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Sarawak, July 24, 1841.

MY DEAR JACK,

IT is very troublesome writing when one's affairs are in so uncertain a state, that all that is conveyed one day, the next may cancel. You know, I think, how greatly I have served the Rajah Muda Hassim, and the unqualified promise he made me, agreeing to give me the country, and to assist the government, which I thought best. On these promises I bought a second vessel, and put into her a cargo, in all costing me a great sum; and when I arrived here, with many friendly professions he took the cargo, and was to give me the antimony ore in exchange, at a favourable but fair rate. So far all went smooth; but arrived at this

point, I first observed a slackness, then a slight shade of coolness, and then an evident wish to evade all discussion about the settlement of the country ; and, last, a measure to try me, which went to the ruin of the country. It was nothing more or less than allowing 120 piratical Dyak boats, to go into the interior here, to attack the Dyaks of this country. When I resisted indignantly this gross breach of our agreement, he denied all knowledge of it ; but his knowledge was no less certain, and the measure his own ! You must know that antimony ore is easily and readily got ; but though he has taken this cargo of mine, he has delayed giving me the return, and has not allowed the natives to work the stone. Now if this was a European, I should be sure he wanted to deceive me : and I believe this friend is false, and thinks to weary me out, and thereby cheat me, and get me away in disgust ; but he is mistaken. I have taken my measures. One vessel, partly full of ore, has returned to Singapore for provisions. The “ Royalist ” has been despatched to Borneo Proper to demand a shipwrecked crew ; and I remain here with Mr. —, and Peter, and another, to watch my friend and creditor. If I conclude that he wants to break his promise, and cheat me too—and there can be no surer proof than that he could give me the full return in one month, and keeps me five, without allowing, nay, preventing his people working—if, as I say, I am sure of this, I will fleece him to his very

bed-clothes; and if he resists, fight it out. I regret this very much, because, in the general calculation of the feasibility of the plan, we reckoned the chances of success against failure, and with the same chances again, though greatly against success, I would, on the same ground, do as I have done; but when the uninvited proposer, the unsolicited giver, turns at the very first step, of course all previous calculation is defeated, and the scheme has no fair field. I have done this man many benefits; and if he prove false after all his promises, I will put that mark of shame upon him that death would be lighter. So much, my friend, for my present prospect—no pleasant one. I have nothing, dear Jack, to say after these few lines. God bless you. My kindest regards and remembrances to my friends at Bridport, Greenwich, &c., and believe me,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 23.

MRS. BROOKE.

Kuchin,* Sarawak, Sept. 14, 1841.

MY LOVED MOTHER,

THIS is written in haste by the steamer "Diana," which has touched here on her return from Borneo, where she has been to rescue a shipwrecked crew detained by the sultan. You will very shortly hear of me again more particularly, and in the mean time I may assure you that I am quite well, and if not quite prosperous, yet as prosperous, perhaps, as circumstances will permit; but, as you know the enterprize is a bold one, and liable to failure, more particularly at the outset, and really I could not swear now, that it will succeed any one week with another. I neither shun, or fear the difficulties, and if left clear to act, I should have no doubt of complete success; but I have misgivings of Muda Hassim; that he is a very weak, and a very indolent man I know, and perhaps he wants to throw me overboard if he dare; but still I hope better things, and if promises could satisfy, and oaths assure, I have plenty. To be with you once more, will at all events repay any personal disappointment, and even should I succeed here, I must make arrangements to return home soon, for a time. Charles seems to have formed the most exalted notions of my country, but if fine countries could be

* The native name of Sarawak.

had, with industrious subjects, and gold to work them, so many would be on the look-out, that I never should have had a chance. Here it is a hard fight to do good—a harder fight to act rightly and coolly; any fool could imbroid matters. The truth is, dear mother, that I might see needful to withdraw at any time, but I do not see the necessity yet, and if I can rouse Muda Hassim to exertion, and a proper course of action, the country will develop itself, if not, I must withdraw. I have a very comfortable house, and the Chinese are my greatest allies with the people of the country. Many, many loves. I am, in great haste, having much to finish and despatch, ever, dearest mother,

Your affectionate son,

J. BROOKE.

No. 24.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Sarawak, Sept. 14, 1841.

MY DEAR JACK,

I HAVE a long letter in progress for you, but without the time to finish it.

I am in the most uncertain and uncomfortable state in the world, which means, that I do not know whether Muda Hassim is cheating me or not, or whether I shall remain or not. These undertakings are ever liable to these unforeseen terminations, and I the more regret it, because I believe the field a noble one and success as very probable; but this hitch is unforeseen

indeed, for who *could* foresee that the very man who invited me to come, on whose part the offer was voluntary, and to whom I have been of such essential service, could turn round on me. Yet, though I say so much, I must add that I consider it more "Yes" than "No," idleness in preference to deceit. There are, however, difficulties with one or two rascals. My great allies are the Chinese. I have built a palace fifty-four feet square with the dignity of planked floors and walls!! very comfortable and cool, though the climate is so cool that I sleep nightly almost, with a blanket over me. May I not thank you, my dear Jack, for the generous opinion of me which your last letter expresses. If fine countries wherein fine gentlemen could make money, were every day to be picked up, there would be so many claimants that I should have no chance when it came to elbowing and interest. Here it is a fight—it wants patience, and coolness, and resolution; any fool could embroil himself by hasty measures; yet I am almost out of my stock of patience, having for five months put up with delay after delay; and the worst is, all my people are urging me on, but I won't be driven, though I have a happy knack of letting everybody talk. Many kind remembrances. I have a letter unfinished for you. Thank Billy for his favour, which shall meet with my early attention.

Ever yours affectionately,

J. BROOKE.

No. 25.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Kuching, Sarawak, Sept. 25, 1841.

MY DEAR JACK,

I HAVE written you very short letters, because I wished to say something certain, and put off in consequence till the last, by which I gained nothing, and you lost a long letter. Now, though still plunged in uncertainty, I take time by the forelock, that at any rate you may know as much as I know myself. I cannot go back very far, but you have doubtless learned the particulars under which Muda Hassim promised me this country of Sarawak. In consequence of our agreements, I purchased another vessel, and fitted her with goods of all sorts, and came here, and when here, I really could do nothing, and have been able to do nothing, for the last four months and more. Muda Hassim was civil and kind, but would neither do anything himself, nor allow me to do anything, and the consequence was that with a very heavy expense, I got no return, and had the comfortable prospect of being made both a fool and a loser. It has been a difficult game to play, Jack, and the more difficult, because I could not fathom the adversary's hand, but I have played my cards with patience and firmness (excuse boasting). On every account I am most anxious to give the undertaking a fair trial: the amelioration of the condition of the

native population, the development of the resources of the country, my own interests, and the extension of geography, will all be benefited if it succeed, and if after a fair lapse of time the enterprize fails, only one of these, viz., the personal one, will be injured. I have, therefore, been patient as a saint, though the inner man has often been tortured with the vapours of a devil; "hope delayed sickeneth the heart," says the proverb, and uncertainty is worse to bear than the worst certainty. It has been trying, and now that it is nearly over, I may say so to you, to be on the threshold of an experiment, to test and retest all your former calculations, and to be baulked by the very person who invited the trial. It has arrived, however, at a climax. Irritated and offended, I have for the last six weeks withdrawn from intercourse with Muda Hassim, and I find that he cannot do without me, and yet fears to entrust me with the authority he formerly promised. I wrote him a long letter detailing what he had promised, appealing to himself whether it was so or not, and insisting on his either performing his promises or repaying me all my outlay, and that if he would neither do one nor the other, I could find the means to force him. He allowed fully all I said, and I think will yield to all my demands, which, indeed, are strictly what he has himself promised. At the time that this debate was going on, I had sent "Rôyalist" to Borneo Proper to release a shipwrecked crew, and the sultan refused

to give them up. On this news reaching Singapore, the government despatched a steamer to demand them, ordering her to call here, to know whether I had released them or not. On her arrival it put the Rajah Muda and the rest in an awful fright, and then all came out. I must, in order that you may understand my position, give you a brief history of Borneo Proper. Muda Hassim is the present sultan's uncle, his sister having married the late sultan; and also his cousin; Muda Hassim's father having been the brother of the sultan's grandfather (likewise sultan). On the death of the late sultan; the Degadon, Muda Hassim's father, wished to place his eldest son on the musnud, but was opposed by his daughter, mother of the present sultan, who proclaimed in favour of her young son. Eastern succession is, you must know, very unsettled, the brother of adult age being quite as eligible to ascend the throne, as the son of a monarch deceased. This family feud was not carried to extremity, but neither party resigning their claim, they took nominal titles, and Borneo has since been without any legitimate ruler. The title of the monarch is "Iang de per Tuam," or "The Lord who rules," the present sultan is not Iang de per Tuam, and called sultan as a current title. The title of Bandharra does not properly belong to Muda Hassim, though he long exercised its functions, in short, it is a state without kings or nobles, they only having the acting-post without the legal investiture or proper

title. The present sultan is imbecile, and Muda Hassim, on the death of his elder brother, succeeded to all the powers of the Bandharra or prime minister, and long exercised them till the following circumstances plunged him into his present position. The sultan's grandfather had an illegitimate son, by name Usop, uncle, of course, to the present sultan. This Pangeran Usop is by all accounts a restless, active, and ambitious Malay, and certainly far superior in energy to Muda Hassim. He came some six years ago to Sarawak, and for a sum of money, to be paid on delivery, agreed to make this country over to a brother of the sultan of Sambas. Muda Hassim would not consent to this, and Usop, to gain his end, roused the inhabitants here into rebellion, promising to assist them, which roused Muda Hassim to come here in person. The task was difficult, and his character is wanting in energy and promptness, though not deficient in sense. Once out of Borneo, Usop gained the weak sultan's ear, and has shaken his (Muda Hassim's) influence in the capital, and without my assistance, he certainly would have died in Sarawak. Now I have a moral influence here, which is surprising even to myself, and I have, what Englishmen all have, courage and energy, and Muda Hassim knows, that without my support he cannot stand here, and perhaps might fail likewise in Borneo; but the hitch is the mode of government, and a Pangeran Makota, who has held the government heretofore.

Muda Hassim assures me there is no difficulty, and would fain leave the matter unsettled, which I will not consent to, *imprimis*, because he promised the contrary, and because we are on the Dutch boundary, and they will be apt to enquire into title. So we rest, but I think he will give way, chiefly from necessity, but he likewise is partial (and always has been) to Europeans in general, and to myself in particular. To-morrow or next day must decide one of these three things: first, whether I have the absolute and uncontrolled power; second, whether he makes a fair arrangement to repay me all my money and expenses; and thirdly, whether I shall attack him and take all and everything he has, and be off. The "lex talionis" is an alternative only in case of extreme necessity, and when it becomes apparent that he has been, and is, cheating and deceiving me. I give you leave, dear Jack, to ask what are the capabilities of this country, and how I am to support the expences till the capabilities are developed. I think I have before told you, that antimony ore is the staple commodity of this river. The antimony ore I shall retain in my own hands, and by holding a monopoly of it in the European markets, the price will never sink below 10s. a cwt., and will probably be higher. By this ore I shall derive a revenue of 1,800*l.* or 2,000*l.* a year, clear of expences of carriage, duty, commission, &c. There is besides a considerable quantity of gold, and the immigration of Chinese will increase that

quantity, so another branch of trade will be open, as well as small quantities of bees-wax, birds' nests, and the like ; by these extra profits, I propose paying my household expences, and my household native servants—add to this the trade with the coast, which will certainly flock here if prices are moderate, and you have my prospects for the first year. Each year will however add to the immigration of the Chinese, and to the growth of rice, which the country is well calculated for, and after the first year, I shall put a rice tax on the Dyaks and Malays, and either a rice or gold tax on the Chinese ; all this being in prospectus, I will not dwell upon. I cannot, however, help telling you the sincere pleasure I feel, when I think of the gradual amelioration of the Dyak tribes, who are cruelly ill-used by the Malay government. My militia will consist of Chinese and Malays ; “divide and govern” is the motto. I must govern each by the other, and when I am rich enough, procure a body guard of fifty Bugis, who are at any time a match for two hundred Malays. So much, dear Jack, for the kingdom of Sarawak, and your friend, who has undertaken to raise it.

28th.—Since writing the above, my dear Jack, all is settled, and in a manner most satisfactory. Our agreement to the following effect has been signed, sealed, and delivered by the high contracting powers. It states that with a clear conscience and integrity, Muda Hassim makes over the entire government and revenue of the country of Sarawak and its dependencies to me,

on condition of my holding it under the crown of Borneo, and on the payment of certain specific sums (amounting to 500*l.* a year). No person is to meddle or interfere with my government on any pretence, whether of politics or trade, &c., and on my part I am to preserve their laws, and not meddle with their religion. I am pleased with this, and more with the conviction of Muda Hassim's sincerity, and the entire devotion of the people of the country to my side. Indeed nothing can be more flourishing than the present state of my affairs, and I have only one other rock a head on which there is any chance of splitting. Makota is the most mild, the most gentlemanly rascal you can conceive, and through his intrigues I have been so distressed and delayed. I found him out by degrees, and gathered up a little treasury of grievances all ready for use, but in the mean time we were beating him hollow, and he every day became more stupid in his devices to thwart us, till at last he tried poison (arsenic mixed with the rice), but this likewise was discovered, and though I could not convict him in an English court of justice, yet there was plenty of evidence to convince me; first, because he is the only man interested to poison me, and second, because it was traced to an emissary of his who was in our camp. However I chose he should bear the blame, and so opening my grievance box with this monster grievance to lead the way, I armed, guns loaded, men passed to and fro, and protesting my affection for Muda Hassim,

I swore vengeance on Makota. This demonstration tested public opinion, and two hundred of the natives immediately joined me, and not a single man joined Makota. This brought matters to a crisis. Makota was discarded, and I walked over the course. The day following the settlement,* came the installation:—all the principal people were assembled, and the chop being read to them, the rajah informed them that thenceforward I was to hold the government. I expounded my principles to them, and really believe they are well pleased. We had great firing and rejoicing.

4th October.—I must bring my letter to a close by telling you that everything goes on excellently well, and I have sailed past the rock which threatened ahead. This rock was, that Muda Hassim held captive as hostages the whole of the women of the late rebels, and I of course was obliged to liberate them, as the first proof of good government. He has consented, without a demur, and I have had the satisfaction of letting loose upwards of one hundred unhappy women and children, and restoring them to their husbands. Is not this a retrospect to pillow my head on? To balance against misfortune?

Now to business, you have got my journal kept during the “Royalist” cruise in the Mediterranean: on the first page is the direction of a man who makes very neat circles for observing latitude, and I have written to my mother to send me one, and to apply to you to get it. I think it is in Devonshire-street, Portland-place.

* Letter of instructions.

To be of use here, it must of course observe at a very high altitude of the sun. We are at a very great loss for latitudes, the stars being rarely clear enough to observe. For months together, we have not a clear sky! I want also a rifle with eight barrels, on a wheel which can be shifted for eight more, and so on *ad infinitum*. I should like wheels enough to carry fifty or sixty charges. With Dyaks it would be invaluable, and I may owe my life to it, when it comes. The maker I do not know, but there was an account of its trial, inserted in the "Times," either at Battersea Red House, or the other pigeon shooting place. I have begged my mother to send me likewise a large magic lantern or phantasmagoria, a good peep-show, (battle of Waterloo, with Bony to the right on his white charger, &c., well magnified,) and an electrifying machine. Perhaps she will commission you, dear Jack, to execute these orders. I apply to my mother, for I do not like to throw away more money, and whatever I can get, must go on the country, and these things will not distress *her*. My natural history goes on slowly, but I have a pretty menagerie, a wawa, a black Bugis monkey, two young bears, an orang-outan (young,) besides paroquets, concals, &c. The preserved collection consists of about forty or fifty specimens, some excellent specimens of the pole cat and weasel kind; one magnificent pheasant which I never saw before, something like the Impeyan, and a Kayan or proboscis monkey.

Give my kind regards to all. If I specified the list, it would be too long. I have so much of my own news, that I do not dwell upon yours, but tell me everything. I expect a letter from Waterhouse in reply to my last communication. Tell him I will search the question to the bottom. If my affairs goes on well, and T—— likes to join me, I would receive him with open arms, but the chance of failure prevents my making the offer at once, because I might inflict an injury where I intended to benefit. “Royalist” will be sold. God bless you, dear Jack. And believe me,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 26.

MRS. BROOKE.

Kuchin, Sarawak, Sept. 27, 1841.

MY LOVED MOTHER,

My last letter must have caused you to think that my present undertaking was coming to an untimely end, but I am now glad to tell you, after much suspense, I have brought everything to a most satisfactory conclusion. I have written so long an account to Charles Johnson which you will read, that it is useless to repeat any of the details, and I will therefore

only add, that whilst I continue to enjoy the highest health, I have a mind buoyed up with the hopes of doing good. In such an undertaking we must act on a large scale, or as large a scale as we can. It is a grand experiment, which, if it succeeds, will bestow a blessing on these poor people, and their children's children will bless my name. If it fail, what is it but personal inconvenience, the sacrifice of style and luxury, but I shall not sleep the worse for my bed being harder, nor shall I be less happy in a cottage than in a mansion. For the rest let me refer you to my other letter. Several letters of yours have reached me, and I shall soon have the satisfaction of receiving others. Your surprise at the first intelligence of my having entered into this scheme was natural, but I derive great happiness in knowing that my mother appreciates the motives on which I have acted, and believes that I have that devotion of character, which would lead me in the path of good, even at a sacrifice. Success will justify me to all, but it is those alone who, seeing and knowing the difficulties of the undertaking, approve it on the whole, in spite of some prudential twinges whose opinion is really worth having. My dear uncle's * illness has, I trust, long since left him, and that he is restored to his usual health. I propose giving him a letter by the next return of my vessel, and I would rather have his judgment on what I am doing than that of any other person in the world. I

* Major Stuart, of Hillingdon, near Uxbridge.

must try to write to dear Margaret this time, though my time is *cruelly* taken up by public affairs. She will delight to hear of so fine a field for the spread of Christianity—a finer field cannot be imagined; a people so ignorant and so illused with no religion of their own, and hardly any prejudices, offer the best opportunity for conversion to the truth. If I hold here a year, I propose entering into communication with some intelligent missionary, and taking his opinion on the best and most feasible means of establishing some of his brethren. I am inclined to believe the American missionaries, in general, superior to the English, not in religious qualification, but in their general system. They aim almost solely at the education of the young, and ingratiate themselves with the older people by the practice of physic—some knowledge of which they almost all acquire. My little Dyak is a charming fellow, and has quite lost all the subservient timidity of the native. I have likewise a Bugis, somewhat older, a very intelligent boy, but very passionate, and these two are taught daily to read English, and have progressed to ba-be-bi. The former of these boys I will, when he acquires a little more knowledge, have baptised at Singapore—the latter is already a Mahomedan.

Your domestic news I know not whether to regret or rejoice at.

The reasons for leaving South Broom are good ones, and even you, dearest mother, do not seem to

have attached yourself much to the place, and being both expensive and non-productive, and without any particular claim on your affections, it is better perhaps to have got rid of it than to have remained. I really hope Anthony will purchase a place, because till that is the case, he will never be fixed, and always changing. I have the same feeling so strongly, that I declare, I would rather have a cottage, a freehold of mine own, all and entirely mine own, than a mansion and park on lease for five hundred years, with a vile landlord somewhere or other, with big prying eyes, and an intelligent agent, close at hand to see you did not convert oaks into firewood. I shall shortly commence indulging my imagination with the idea of a nice country-house, more country than South Broom, not so near the village or town, some three, four, or five miles from Cheltenham or Bath, which is not large or expensive, but boasts of a pretty pleasure-ground sort of farm, and is dignified by a snug little lodge. If you are in want of a lodge-keeper pray give it to my poor captain's widow, Mrs. —.

1st October.—I must now bring my letter to a conclusion, with begging, and conveying to you my first act of government.

The unfortunate people who were conquered in the war—the rebels—gave their wives and children as hostages for their future obedience, and they have since been held captive. My first act has been to release these unfortunates from their miserable dungeon and to

restore them to their husbands. Is not this alone a recompense for any evils which I have, or may, suffer. To restore upwards of one hundred women and children, to their husbands and fathers—to bestow liberty on the captive, and happiness amid an entire population, may surely bring comfort on reflection, and afford a pleasing retrospect. Now for my begging: I am very poor, and I have resolved not to encroach any more, but I want some things from home very much, so I must trust to your being rich enough to afford them to me. Imprimis, a circle for taking the latitude (Templer knows the direction). 2nd. An electrifying machine of good power. 3rd. A large magic lantern or phantasmagoria. 4th. A rifle which carries fifty balls (Templer knows). And last, a peep-show. These articles will not ruin you quite, but do not put yourself to inconvenience about them. The circle and rifle I want very much, and the others are all for *political purposes*! Many loves to all. I shall have one more opportunity for writing before we are shut in by the N. E. monsoon for three or four months. God bless you, loved loved mother. If I succeed here, with what pride and pleasure I shall clasp you in my arms! and if I fail, you will not love your son the less, or be less proud of him. I will not hope too much, but till you receive bad news you may be very content about me.

Ever, my own mother,

Your affectionate son,

J. BROOKE.

No. 27.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Kuchin, Sarawak, Nov. 10, 1841.

MY DEAR JACK,

THE reform in the postage induces me to write on half-sheets as they are more convenient, and afford a succession of stepping-stones to assist the arrangement of ideas.

First, led me beg of you to afford me your assistance in procuring me the following vocabularies to help me in my philological researches.

1st. Sanscrit.

2nd. A paper and tables, by Marsden, published by the Society of Antiquarians in vol. 6, of the *Archæologia*.

3rd. Description of the Philippine Islands, by Mortimer de Tunigo—Marus translation—vocabularies therein contained of Chili, Peru, &c. &c., see page 175 “Life of Sir Stamford Raffles.”

4th. Ancient or modern vocabularies of South America, particularly the wild tribes of “Guiana.”

5th. Recent vocabularies of one or two languages of the South Sea, New Zealand, and Madagascar.

6th. Anything further which may throw any light on the origin of the insular language, which extends from the Straits of Malacca to the Philippines, and from the Sandwich Islands to Madagascar.

7th. The language of the Philippines.

Marsden's History, Grammar, and Dictionary, I have already got, as well as Raffles' History of Java and Memoirs, Crawford's History, Ellis's Polynesian Researches, Williams' Missionary Enterprises, Earl's Eastern Seas, Cook's Voyages, &c. &c. I have a rare and excellent Bugis vocabulary, and am acquainted with the character. Malay I am pretty well at home in. You will see in the Geographical Journal, vol. 9, part 1, page 153, the following words: "It is placed on the comparative list under the date 1803." If this comparative list contains anything to the purpose, let me have it. Where the devil does the radical portion of the East insular language come from? Marsden says it is original, and challenges any one to show its resemblance to any known continental language; Raffles and Segden bring it from the continent of Asia, but their philology fails them; Signor Tunigo traces the source to South America, and it is worth enquiring into. Our first and most natural inference is, that the population of the Islands emigrated from a continent; but if they did so emigrate, the traces of the language must be discoverable. Whether the tide flowed from east to west, or west to east, must be decided by an identity in the radical portion of the languages; but if we cannot trace this resemblance to either continent, we must presume the language and people original (*i. e.*) a language so far original that we cannot resolve it into any other language. Marsden was a first-rate eastern scholar, with

a hard head and excellent reasoning powers. The other authors I have seen on this enquiry appear to me to fluctuate backwards and forwards without sticking to the stern point of philology. Sir Stamford Raffles asserts that the language of the wild tribe of Borneo, resembles that of Laos and Camboga on the continent. Earl, following Raffles, says it is the language of the Dyaks, which it certainly is not, nor do I believe in the resemblance of the dialects, for it is not subject for assertion but proof. When we consider the number of fine scholars who have pursued this enquiry without bringing home the radical portion of the Insular or Polynesian language to the western continent, we must consider it almost decisive that it cannot be done, but I am not aware that the same pains have been taken with regard to the dialects of South America. The east wind of the Pacific has always appeared to me to favour the notion of the current setting from east to west, and one fact we may be pretty sure of, that as the language of the South Seas has no mixture of Sanscrit, the emigration, if it took place from the westward, was in very remote times, previous to the arrival of the Hindus in the Archipelago. The emigration from west to east *is possible*, but difficult even now for a bad sailing European vessel. What nonsense it is, therefore, in Mr. Williams in his *Missionary Enterprizes*, referring to the native state of Acheen in 1573, as proof of the Islanders possessing vessels capable of the navigation from west to east. When

the ablest scholars are unable to trace the language of the islands to the Asiatic continent, what is gained by proving this possibility? On the other hand, it is easy for a canoe to come from South America to the island before the wind, and nobody that I am aware of has turned his attention minutely, to deriving the insular language, from the Eastern continent.

I think some of the dialects of the Kyans and other tribes, will throw some interesting light on these particulars; for these dialects appear to me, though possessing some words in common with the Polynesian, to differ very widely in their *general* character—in their genius, if I may so say. I have got much information I want to disgorge, but partly from its being not so conclusive as I could wish, and partly from want of time, I delay it; however it shall come soon. One fact I must state to you: the Dyak—the wild Dyak—name for God, is the same as the Hindoo—as that of Bati, in the present day (*viz.*) “Battara,” (the Avatara of the Hindoos). I am pleased at getting this fact as it proves at least, that the Dyaks have, and long have had, a notion of the Deity, and points out the source whence they derived their knowledge. Let me beg of you to read this dry question with patience, consider it, and give me your opinion, and get such information of what has been done and what is the prevalent opinion as you can. Mr. G—— will help us, and Colonel J—— will, I doubt not, give you his aid, both on the question itself, and to procure the vocabularies.

I can speak favourably of my rising Carthage, though I am at present engaged in a contest with the Sultan of Sambas, backed doubtless by the Dutch. The desire of these two authorities is not only to seize this country, but to prevent anything like a liberal Government or free trade from flourishing here, on account of the effect it must necessarily have on their *opium and salt monopolies*. I think, however, I shall hold fast, in spite of their intrigues, and I trust to be enabled to do good in the long run, and to make manifest how a little intelligence and honesty exerted in these unhappy countries may affect their future destiny, and be the means of advancing them in the social scale, whilst it at the same time tends to the benefit of our own commerce, and to the spread of our religion. It is a matter of the utmost surprise to me, that the island of Borneo should attract so little attention, and that it should be so little known. Sir Stamford Raffles remarks, that its soil is not only as rich as any in the world, but that its mineral productions rival those of South America; and I may add that this section of the north-west coast is unmatched within the same given space by any country. We have *diamonds, gold, tin, iron and antimony ore certain*—we have *copper reported*, and these mineral mountains are as yet unsearched by any man of intelligence. Besides the mineral wealth, we have a soil fit for the cultivation of the richest vegetable productions. Coffees, nutmegs cotton, would all flourish here, Rice, sago, and

any other grain grow in abundance and perfection, and the country is greatly cleared of wood and jungle by the industry of the Dyaks. Our chief want is inhabitants, and of these we shall have enough, provided the government is just and fair in its dealings.

The Dyaks or wild tribe of the hills are, taking them generally, one of the most interesting and easily to be improved races in the world. You must be careful, however, not to confound these hill Dyaks with the predatory tribes of the coasts, for although they likewise have many excellent qualities, yet they are *great pirates* and head-hunters. These (the hill Dyaks) are an industrious, quiet, and strictly honest people, in which last particular they present a striking contrast to the South Sea Islanders. Their wars, one tribe against another, do little mischief, even to themselves, save that the fear of surprise, prevents their cultivating an exposed ground. It is a war of skirmishing carried on by small parties, who steal on the enemy's ground and cut off a stray head or two, as opportunity offers; but this *head-hunting*, as it has been foolishly called, is the *effect* and not the *cause* of hostility; and it is nothing more than the scalping of the North American Indian, and that custom almost universal, which arises from the evil of our nature, of triumphing over a fallen enemy. They do not ever *hunt for heads*, save the heads of their enemies, as we hunt for their lives, and glory over their captured

standards. This is the real practice of the Dyaks, and the Malays on this coast follow this practice, and cut off the heads of their fallen foes, and neither Malay or Dyak ever gives quarter to a grown man ; but the women and children are spared and made slaves. The two Dyak tribes of Sarebas and Sakarran are warlike and piratical, and the former has quite thrown off the rule of Borneo, the latter nearly so ; and they can scarcely be looked upon as specimens of what the Dyaks generally are, for they have grown powerful by impunity, and from the weakness of the Borneo government ; and on their piratical and head-hunting excursions, they are generally accompanied by a sprinkling of Malays. I saw here one hundred war proas, and they had forty more waiting for them at the mouth of the river. These proas carry from fifty to twenty-five men, and carry their devastations from their own river as far as Benger Massin, murdering and robbing whatever falls in their way. It is of the hill Dyaks, however, I would particularly write, for a more wretchedly oppressed race is not to be found, or one more deserving the commiseration of the humane. Though industrious, they never reap what they sow ; though their country is rich in produce, they are obliged to yield it all to their oppressors : though yielding all beyond their bare sustenance, they rarely can preserve half *their children*, and often—too often—are robbed of them all, with their wives. This may appear to you somewhat an exaggerated picture, but

I have not given it the colour which it merits. All that rapacity and oppression can effect, is exhausted, and the only happiness which ever falls to the lot of these unhappy tribes is, getting one tyrant, instead of five thousand. Indeed, it is quite useless to try to explain the miserable condition of this country, where for the last ten years there has been no government; where intrigue and plunder form the occupation of all the higher classes; where, for a poor man to possess beyond his clothes, is a crime, where lying is a virtue, religion dead, and where cheating is so common that I believe a Borneon would rather cheat himself, than forbear; and last, where the ruler Muda Hassim is so weak, that he has lost all authority except in name and observance.

This is the country I have taken upon myself to govern with small means, few men, and in short, without any of the requisites which could ensure success; I have distraction within, and intrigue abroad, and I have the weakest of the weak, a rotten staff to depend on for my authority. Yet do I not despair, for amid these elements of discord there is something which may lead to success, if I can only try the experiment fairly. In the first place, the Chinese are industrious, and I hope will be numerous. In the second place, the rebels fear the Borneons under Muda Hassim, and will support me against him and them. Thirdly, the Borneons are few and unwarlike; and some *stern examples* made amongst them, will reduce them to

obedience. The Dyaks when they can once feel their good fortune, and know the protection I afford, will flock to me, and, indeed, it is so already with two or three tribes. And lastly, Muda Hassim, whatever his secret wishes may be (I trust him not), fears to break with me for two reasons. He does not know how to govern without me, and besides, owes me money which he cannot pay. The first of these reasons is so potent a one that should he at any time break with me, there would be a fresh rebellion in a fortnight; and at present, even without the presence of "Royalist," I have only to hold up my finger to collect followers sufficient to displace Muda Hassim. The Sultan of Sambas and the Dutch are not unreasonably averse to my remaining here; and the former has just sent a brig for antimony ore, which he asserts is due by the Chinese. As the ore is my great staple, and as by agreement I hold it in my hands to meet my expenses, I of course refuse the supply, and on this point we are at present trying our strength. If he succeed, I may, and will, shut up shop, because it would be needless to play a losing game; and if Muda Hassim is allowed once to break a promise he will do it again. In that case I will collect the remnants of the money I have laid out, and cry "Hey for Otaheite," or New Zealand. It would be with deep regret I should abandon this field, for whatever difficulty or danger may be in the way of success, however inadequate the means I possess, yet success is worth struggling for, and the objects

to be attained by it are of great importance. The commerce of this island must be, in the first place, developed, and no native commerce can be developed until the trader has a direct communication with the producer. Under the native system, conducted by native pangerans, a trade with Europeans, instead of benefiting the inhabitants of a country, serves to injure them. Indeed, the proposition may be stated as true, "That the richer a country is under a native ruler, and the greater the demand for its exports, the more are the inhabitants oppressed." The reason will, on reflection, be evident. The Pangerans are educated without an idea of compassion for the poorer classes of their own countrymen—the Dyaks; and these poor classes are *driven to labour* without any remuneration, or one so trifling as need scarce be mentioned. There is no limit to the rapacity of the ruler, or the misery of the villagers, save the glut of the European market; and the more speedy the demand, the greater the misery. All their useful labour is abandoned, and they toil to enrich their lord. This lord fattens on the spoil, and he has a number of unprincipled rascals, who dog his heels and obey his behests, to whom he gives the pickings of plunder or rapacity. As an instance, let me mention the case of the antimony ore here. This ore has been the sole cause of all the war and bloodshed in this poor country; for whilst they were poor, it was not worth any tyrant's while to take up his abode here permanently; but when the demand

came for the ore, several struggled for ascendancy—the country was oppressed and divided, and civil war was the consequence. Since the end of the war Makota (than whom a greater rascal exists not) untaught by experience, has been playing the same game, until stopped by me. The poor men were forced to supply him with *ten pekuls of stone for two rupees*, which he resold for *two rupees a pekul*, and not content with this profit of a thousand per cent., he added five hundred per cent. more by false measure, of which they dare not complain. It is this system of pillage I am fighting to remove; and if the natives once fall into a better system the old one can never be resorted to again. When we reflect, dear Jack, on the soil and productions of this island, its vast extent, its numerous and industrious tribes in the interior, and the facility of communication, we shall readily appreciate the advantages which would result to commerce from its development. Sarawak is one of the keys of the interior—one day's journey by land conducts from this river to the Pontiana—the same land journey to the Sambas river. The former of these rivers may be ascended to the centre of the island. Ten days' journey brings the traveller to the interior of the Benger Massin river, and ten days more to the interior of the river of Coti. All this vast tract of country is well peopled by the Kyans, who are warlike, but a hospitable and industrious race; and not one-hundredth part of the produce is gathered. Then the country of Sarawak itself, which enjoys a

delicious climate, and is fertile and rich, might be developed by the outlay of capital, so that it alone would furnish a considerable trade, and be the depôt of a depôt, for the native trade in proas is slow and unwieldy; but along this coast the trade would be carried on in small boats, which would readily make six or eight voyages here, to one voyage to Singapore. I am very decided on the great advantages to the commerce of the Archipelago by the development of this place, and more decided still, on the vast field for Christianity. In a native state the missionary does not succeed, because his efforts are counteracted by the contempt and the indolence of the Malay rulers, and the oppressions practised on the Dyak tribes render them averse to all instruction which flows from the Malays, or through them, and it is quite out of the power of the poor missionary to bring them relief or happiness. Here, however, this power would be his—he would be their guardian angel; he would be the local authority to encourage them, and to repress the unjust demand of the Malay. In short, he would have every advantage, and his doctrine would be beneficially introduced by the amelioration of the temporal condition of a most unhappy race. Indeed, from what I have seen of these people, I should expect a rapid advance in Christianity, when once they were relieved from oppression.

1st December, 1841.—The preceding was written before the arrival of your letter bringing the sad news

of your family loss,* in which I sincerely sympathize, and the effects of which I trust are now mitigated. I have been very busy writing a paper for the Government, or the public, as may be ; and I will ask you to forward my views in every possible way you can. Your father knows Lord W——, Sir T. A——, &c. You, as well as I, can interest Harvey and his set. In short, dear Jack, I have resolved to make a push, because the objects in view will be greatly advanced, if I can be placed above the hateful necessity of trading ; and these objects are so little selfish on my part, that I have a *right* to speak out on the subject, and to be heard. The paper has been sent to Gardner, who is to endeavour, or who has *promised*, to lay it before the Secretary of State.

For such ends surely a great nation, profuse in its charities, will not hesitate ; and, God knows, I desire none of their money to find its way to my own pockets. I tell Gardner, if the paper be *published* or *printed*, to let you look over, alter, and amend it, for it is written in hurry, and amid ten thousand distractions. I hold well here, and doubt not the result, if I do not break down in money matters. There is the rub ! As a man of commerce, I am a fool ; fit to talk about the national debt ; but as for saving sixpence, I cannot do it ; and you cannot know my situation. Daily poor wretches, in the last stage of starvation, float down the river, and crawl to my house, and beg a little, little rice ! Choke

* This refers to the death of the Editor's young brother, Frederick.

me with gold, Jack, but I have not the heart to say nay; and this runs away with hundreds. The crop, however, will be ripe in three months, and then I shall be relieved from this doleful spectacle. To say the least, my bed is a bed of thorns, and I do assure you nothing but the sense of doing right could support me through my difficulties; and I am *alone*, for though my companions, or rather followers, are *really good* and *faithful*, yet they are not society. Whether I get any aid or not, I am going to put down piracy next year; and if that fifty-barrel gun comes, so much the better; such a state of things cannot be allowed to exist *near a gentleman*, and it will be easily put an end to when the said gentleman applies himself to the task in person. Those idiots, the Dutch—those thick-skinned, muddle-headed canallers—encourage this vile traffic, because it prevents the natives smuggling, and because it injures the trade of Singapore. Many, many loves to you all. Fear nothing for me; the decision is in higher hands, and I am as willing to die, as live, in the present undertaking, if my death can benefit the poor people. Pray, help me the whole hog, and do, if possible, relieve me from the pecuniary burden of this task, for it is that, I do not like. Poverty I care not for; but pecuniary doubt is hateful. God bless you. Write constantly, fully, about everybody, Jem in particular; and I want to hear about the ourang-utau theory, which Waterhouse has not sent me.

Ever yours affectionately, but in haste,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. I open just to say that a box of birds is coming. Never mind the vocabularies now ; but keep the letter as a reference. Do turn your mind to the paper, and don't be bashful, and you might even, as my intimate friend, get an interview with the Secretary of State. G—— and the Geographical will assist. Flourish trumpets ; consult with Gardner and the mercantile body ; but rouse the sleepy public.

N.B. I want my geographical journals, not one of which has ever been forwarded.

10th December. — All well. The paper sent to Gardner, with some memorandums, I wish you to peruse. I think I have not asked too much ; and by a little good management, it may readily be effected. I think you will like the substance of the paper ; but it has been written under pressure from without. Pray distribute it to all, and see as many friends on the subject as you can. Write or see R——, for I know he will enter into my views. My kind regards to him and his. Peter is well, and behaving well ; very fond of a poultry-yard, and he diddles all the Pan-gerans out of cocks and hens ! Many kind regards to Prior, your sister, and the dear folks at Bridport. Politics I laugh at ! *I* am the ministry ! I am glad, however, there is a strong Government, though I would rather it was t'other way up. You must pass the Corn Law Amendment in a few years.

Yours,
J. B.

No. 28.

MRS. BROOKE.

Kuchin, Sarawak, Dec. 10, 1841.

MY LOVED MOTHER,

YOUR welcome letter of June reached me here, and I have not long to reply, and am, moreover, pressed with other matter. You will see that I have resolved to appeal to the Government, or to the public, or both, and request that support and assistance which I conceive myself entitled to on public grounds. Pray assist me in every way ; agitate those you know ; solicit those you have a chance with, for the more publicity the better, and these countries are attracting attention. My rising Carthage shows symptoms of reviving from the trance in which it has been plunged by intrigue and violence. Of course I am greatly interested—with excellent health and plenty of energy for the task. I have everything here to make me as comfortable as circumstances permit—not many luxuries, but food enough and clean water ; but these things never did, and never can affect me ; and I feel myself supported by the consciousness of being engaged in a worthy task, one that has already relieved much misery, and which aims at extended good.

My house and my *ménage* are not uncomfortable. My private room contains my books, my guitar, my instruments ; and as for the demon Time, I know not

how he flies. Day succeeds day, month month, and I have no ennui—none of that longing to be doing something, and the aversion to be employed on the merest trifles. The house consists of wood, supported on *pillows* (as Miss —— wrote) without number, and comprises a square of fifty-four feet. I have pets of all sorts—bears, monkeys, deer, dogs, and during the evening walk they are loosed, often to our great amusement. I was very glad to hear you liked Treacher so well: he is an amiable and gentlemanly person, and a great favourite of mine. His successor, who has now left me, turned out very quarrelsome, and chose at last to quarrel with me, after being on bad terms with everybody else. Companions, I may say, I have none. There is a little interpreter, called Williamson, country born, good tempered, but uneducated, a clerk, who, by misfortune and shipwreck, was reduced to great distress, who is a useful, pleasant, and trustworthy person; he is the son of an officer on half-pay; wanted to better himself by going to Sydney; got wrecked, lost his all, and shipped aboard the “Royalist;” since which he has risen by good conduct. M’Kenzie is master-at-arms and bird-stuffer-general; Peter, a great, big, stout man, an especial favourite with the natives; and one other European.

You will read my paper with interest, as I think even an indifferent person will likewise do. My wish is to get the Government to assist me, or at any rate to recognise the place, and to enter into my general

views of policy. The mercantile body may then safely form a joint stock company for developing the resources of the country, bringing Chinamen and Javanese, and working the mineral treasures; such speculations are in fashion, and here it would certainly succeed. It is very, very little for the Government or the public to do, and it is dictated by humanity as well as policy, but is a task for an individual, and one who has no money.

This, dearest mother, is a desultory letter, and will be the last for three months, so you must not make yourself uneasy; and you may, indeed, be quite easy on my account during that time, for nothing will occur to hurt me, except from the outside, and we are shut in. By hurting me from the outside, I mean the Dutch, but then they will hurt me no other way than by appealing to our Government, or intriguing in Borneo. I care not a fig for them. Agitate, dearest mother. Do not agitate yourself, but every body else, and I promise you we will succeed; and if arrangements can be made, I will run home for a space. I was very glad to hear you had Martha again, for I am sure you will both be more comfortable; and for my part I would rather have a faithful servant about, though he were deaf and blind, than one of the new-fangled race, who change their masters, like their masters change their coats. All those about me have been with me a long time; it is respectable, and proves two things—that the master is kind and the servant good. I will send

Martha a present when I can afford it! What would she like? a monkey for a pet, or a box full of diamonds, or a ship load of gold? Give my regards to her. Many, many loves to Anthony, Margaret, and the young ladies. Anne* really merits that dignified title. Miss Helen* is but a child. Adieu, dearest mother, and ever believe me

Your affectionate son,
J. BROOKE.

* Nieces of Sir James Brooke.

CHAPTER V.

DEC. 10, 1841.

No. 29.

JAMES GARDNER, ESQ.*

Kuchin, Sarawak, Island of Borneo,
December 10, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

You are good enough, in your letter of the 4th of August last, to say that if I will furnish some details respecting this country, and of my views in settling here, you will endeavour to lay them before Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies. Amid the numerous plans for the extension of commerce, the propagation of Christianity, or the amelioration of an interesting but most unhappy aboriginal race, my present undertaking may merit attention ; and I trust it may claim a candid consideration, as being divested of all personal views of advantage, except

* This is the paper referred to in the preceding letters, and was published under the direction of the Editor in the year 1842. It is too important a testimony to the motives of its author to be omitted here.

such as may ultimately flow from the improvements of the country.

Of the time I have already devoted, in order to acquire a knowledge of this island, and of the pecuniary sacrifices I have made to benefit the people, you are well aware; and it is only for me, in alluding to these circumstances, to add that although anxious to see a settlement under British influence and protection established here, I am indifferent whether it be formed under my own superintendence or under the direction of others, and am willing to transfer the rights and interests I have acquired to any successor who, with better means and better support, shall be able more effectually to carry my views into execution. I wish it therefore to be understood, that on public grounds only, I request the support of Government, or the assistance of the commercial community; that my objects are to call into existence, the resources of one of the richest and most extensive islands of the globe; to relieve an industrious people from oppression, and to check, and if possible, to suppress, PIRACY and the SLAVE TRADE, which are openly carried on within a short distance of three European settlements, on a scale and system revolting to humanity. These objects are by no means so difficult to accomplish, as may at first sight appear; and whilst I devote myself to this task, I cannot but hope it will excite the interest which it appears to me to deserve, and that, as I have already borne all the brunt, I shall not be left to bear all the

burden likewise. It is evident that the success of such an undertaking must depend greatly on the means which are employed, and though the limited resources of an individual may render the result doubtful, yet, with means better adequate to the end in view, it may be reduced nearly to a certainty, and the advantages flowing from success, must overpay, a thousand fold, the moderate outlay dictated by humanity, and risked for the extension of commerce.

Convinced as I am of the good that must result both to Malays and Dyaks* from even my own endeavours, and resolved to persevere in them, (as if I fail in all I propose I shall at least pave the way for future improvement, and leave, I trust, a favourable impression of English character) yet to enable others to judge of the reasons for my conviction, it will be necessary for me to enter into some brief details on the following points: 1st. The government of Borneo; 2nd. The description of the country, its inhabitants and produce; 3rd. My own past and present proceedings, and future prospects, the difficulties yet to be encountered, and the means necessary to ensure success.

1. The government of *Borneo Proper*,† like that of every other Malay state in the present day, is in the

* The Dyak tribes are the aborigines of Borneo, inhabiting the interior of the island, and are in subjugation to the Malays who line the coast.

† Borneo Proper is the northern and north-western part of the island of Borneo, and is completely an independent state, uninfluenced by any European nation whatsoever.

last stage of decay and distraction, without internal power or external influence ; and to such a degree do their intrigues and dissensions extend, that for the last twenty years, the sultan and the four hereditary officers of state of the royal family, have merely held nominal titles, being each unable to obtain the legal investiture from the jealousy of the others. The capital, once a place of importance, is now greatly reduced, and wretched in the extreme, and though formerly containing thirty thousand inhabitants, it is now reduced to four thousand. The trade there is nearly at an end, both with China and the European settlements, and is confined to a few native proas : throughout the territory, the same distraction prevails. A few chiefs hold possession of the mouths of the rivers, war with each other without check or control, and oppress the inhabitants, especially the hill Dyaks, until trade is reduced to its lowest possible limit, and produce only gathered in the smallest possible quantity ; and countries abounding with the richest gifts of nature scarce feed a scanty and diminishing population. Nor does the evil cease here, for a swarm of petty Pangerans or chiefs, by their rapacity, frequently drive the people into rebellion, or reduce them to the most abject state of distress and even starvation. I am unacquainted with any parallel state of society ; for though in other countries rapacity, corruption, and intrigue, may be very general, there is usually some power, some rallying point for aggression or protection ; but here all are rapacious, all are poor,

and all so weak that fifty Europeans would take the whole country from end to end.

Borneo Proper has scarcely held any communication with Europeans, and I believe the only treaty was entered into with the English in the year 1775, which certainly was little adhered to by either party. The Dutch have had no footing or no treaty, and the Borneons* are jealous of their neighbours, as they well may be; for the Dutch governments of Sambas and Pontianak, however advantageous they may be to Holland, in a pecuniary point of view, do not even aim at the improvement of the natives, or *the extension of trade*. It is in consequence of this slight intercourse with the civilized world that the *Borneons* are more rude and more ignorant than the other Malaysans; and the demands of commerce, instead of improving the country generally, have had the opposite effect, and have rendered the chiefs and traders jointly, the oppressors of the poorer classes.

I may here be allowed to offer a few remarks which apply generally to the Eastern Archipelago, but more particularly to the country of Borneo. Commerce has been indiscriminately described as an important medium of improvement, and no doubt it is so, in many (perhaps all) cases where it is unshackled and left to the impulse of the people; but there are exceptions to this rule, and amongst them must be

* Borneons. These are the Malay inhabitants of Borneo Proper, and must be considered as quite distinct from the Dyaks, or aboriginal population.

reckoned the commerce of the Eastern Archipelago, which is generally in the hands of the native chiefs, and often is the most fatal instrument of oppression. Space forbids my entering more largely on this question ; but if we were to inquire into the benefits conferred by trade within the last two hundred years in the Archipelago, it would be difficult to point out one single Malayan state either more civilized, more powerful, or more happy than they were formerly ; whilst the examples of the contrary, either from this or other causes, are unhappily too numerous. My experience here enables me to affirm, from the distracted state of the government and the depression of the people, that trade, instead of being a blessing, is a curse ; and that the richer a country is, and the greater the demand by European vessels for any staple commodity, the more wretched are the inhabitants, and the more rapacious the chiefs, who drive the people to unrequited labour, as long as there is any demand, to the neglect of their agricultural pursuits, on which they depend for food. The chief grows rich ; but the people are abjectly poor ; and the country is ruined, by the desertion or rebellion of its inhabitants. The trade from the coast, carried on in the native proas, leads to less mischief, although it confers little good on the poorer classes : as I have remarked before, the trade is confined to a few chiefs and Nakodahs, and as the Dyak producers derive scarcely any advantage, the export produce is limited to the smallest possible quantity, which will serve to satisfy the demands of

their rulers, and to purchase that indispensable necessary of life—salt. I may here mention the usual prices demanded of the Dyaks, besides other extortions to be noticed hereafter. One gantang of salt for three or four gantangs of rice, the value of the two articles being fourteen dollars for a royan of salt, and fifty for a royan of rice! When the chief has reduced the tribe to starvation, he returns the same rice and demands ten pekuls of antimony-ore for one rupee's worth of paddy or rice in the husk. Each pekul of antimony-ore may be sold for one and a half, or two rupees, on the spot. Half a catty of birds' nests, are taken for one gantang of rice, being a moderate profit of 2,000 per cent. I would call the attention of intelligent men to this subject, and will only add that until the merchant can deal with the producer, or at any rate till the producer has the liberty of taking the best price offered for his goods, there can be no hope of ameliorating the condition of the Dyaks, by developing the resources of the country. To what extent this end might be effected I shall hereafter have to mention.

2nd. The Borneon territory is comprised between Tanjong Datu, in lat. 2 deg. 7 min. 17 sec. N., long. 109 deg. 43 min. 57 sec. E., and Malludu Bay; but the northern part of the island is inhabited by a number of piratical communities, formed from a mixture of the surrounding countries, and the authority of the Borneon government is scarcely recognised to the northward of the capital of Borneo Proper river, the

entrance of which lies in lat. 5 deg. 6 min. 42 sec. N. and long. 115 deg. 24 min. 00 sec. E.

Between Tanjong Datu and the Murah Basar, or principal entrance of the Borneo river, are the following rivers:—Samatan, Lundu, Sarawak, Samarahan, Sadong, Linga, Sakarran, Serebas, Kalaku, Niabur, Kejang, Kanowit, Palo, Bruit, Matto, Oya, Muka, Latow, Bintulu, Meri, Barram, Birah, Balyit, Tutong, Pungit, Murah-damit (small entrance), and Murah Basar or Borneo river.

Several of these rivers are navigable for European vessels; many of them connected with each other in the interior, and diverging into numerous streams, which descend from the range of mountains, separating the north-west coast from the Pontianak river. It is not my purpose to enter into any detail of these countries, of which it will be here sufficient, to say that they are generally inhabited by Malays, at the entrance of the rivers, and Dyaks in the interior; and that they are all in the state I have before described, with the exceptions of Serebas and Sakarran, two powerful Dyak tribes, who having thrown off the authority of the Malays, have turned pirates, and ravage the coasts even as far as Celebes.

Sarawak, the more immediate subject of attention, extends from Tanjong Datu, to the entrance of the Samarahan river, a distance along the coast, of about sixty miles in an E. S. E. direction, with an average breadth of fifty miles. It is bounded to the westward by the Sambas territory, to the southward by a range

of mountains, which separate it from the Pontianak river, and to the eastward by the Borneo territory of Sadong. Within this space there are several rivers and islands, which it is needless here to describe at length, as the account of the river of Sarawak will answer alike for the rest. There are two navigable entrances to this river, and numerous smaller branches for boats, both to the westward and eastward ; the two principal entrances, combine at about twelve miles from the sea, and the river flows for twenty miles into the interior, in a southerly and westerly direction, when it again forms two branches—one running to the right, the other to the left hand, as far as the mountain range. Besides these facilities for water communication, there exist three other branches from the easternmost entrance, called Moratabas, one of which joins the Samarahan river, and the two others flow from different points of the mountain range already mentioned. The country is diversified by detached mountains, and the mountain range has an elevation of about three thousand feet. The aspect of the country may be generally described as low and woody at the entrance of the rivers, except a few high mountains ; but in the interior, undulating in parts, and presenting fine level plains. The climate may be pronounced healthy and cool, though from the six months from September to March, a great quantity of rain falls. During my three visits to this place, which have been prolonged to eight months, and since residing here, we have been clear of sickness ; and during the entire period, not one of three deaths, could

be attributed to the effects of climate. The more serious maladies of tropical climates, are very unfrequent ; from fever and dysentery we have been quite free, and the only complaints have been rheumatism, colds, and ague ; the latter, however, attacked us in the interior ; and no one has yet had it at Kuchin, which is situated about twenty-five miles from the mouth of the river.

The soil and productions of this country are of the richest description, and it is not too much to say, that within the same given space, there are not to be found the same mineral and vegetable riches in any land in the world. I propose to give a brief detail of them, beginning with the soil of the plains which is moist and rich, and calculated for the growth of rice, for which purpose it was formerly cleared, and used, until the distractions of the country commenced. From the known industry of the Dyaks, and their partiality to rice cultivation, there can be little doubt that it would become an article of extensive export, provided security were given to the cultivator, and a proper remuneration for his produce. The lower grounds, besides rice, are admirably calculated for the growth of sago, and produce canes, rattans, and forest timber of the finest description for ship-building, and other useful purposes. The Chinese export considerable quantities of timber from Sambas and Pontianak, particularly of the kind called Balean by the natives, or the lion wood of the Europeans : and at this place it is to be had in far greater quantity and nearer the place of sale. The

undulating ground differs in soil, some portions of it being a yellowish clay, whilst the rest is a rich mould; these grounds, generally speaking, as well as the slopes of the higher mountains, are admirably calculated for the growth of nutmegs, coffee, pepper, or any of the more valuable vegetable productions of the tropics. Besides the above-mentioned articles, there are birds'-nests, bees'-wax, and several kinds of scented wood in demand at Singapore, which are all collected by the Dyaks, and would be collected in far greater quantity, provided the Dyak were allowed to sell them. Turning from the vegetable, to the mineral riches of the country, we have diamonds, gold, tin, iron, and antimony ore certain. I have lately sent what I believe to be a specimen of lead ore, to Calcutta, and copper is reported. It must be remembered, in reading this list, that the country is as yet unexplored by a scientific person, and that the inquiries of a geologist and a mineralogist would throw further light on the minerals of the mountains, and the spots where they are to be found in the greatest plenty. The diamonds are stated to be found in considerable numbers, and of a good water, and I judge the statement to be correct from the fact that the diamond workers from Sandak come here and work secretly, and the people from Benjer Massin, who are likewise clever at this trade, are most desirous to be allowed to work for the precious stone. Gold of a good quality certainly is to be found in large quantities. The eager-

ness and perseverance of the Chinese to establish themselves, is a convincing proof of the fact ; and about ten years since, a body of about three thousand of them had great success in procuring gold by their ordinary mode of trenching the ground.

The quantity of gold yearly procured at Sambas is moderately stated at 130,000 bunkals, which, reckoned at the low rate of 20 Spanish dollars a bunkal, gives 2,600,000 Spanish dollars, or upwards of half a million sterling. The most intelligent Chinese are of opinion, that the quantity here exceeds the quantity at Sambas, and there is no good reason to suppose it would fall short of it, when once a sufficient Chinese population is settled in the country.

Antimony ore is a staple commodity, which is to be procured in any quantity. Tin is said to be plentiful, and the Chinese propose working it, but I have had no opportunity of visiting the spot where it is found. The copper, though reported, has not been brought, and the iron ore I have examined, is of inferior quality. The specimen of what I supposed to be lead ore, has been forwarded to Calcutta, and it remains to be seen what its value may be. And besides these above-mentioned minerals, there can be little doubt of many others being discovered, if the mountain range were properly explored by any man of science. Many other articles of minor importance might be mentioned, but it is needless to add to a list which contains articles of such value, and which would prove the country equal in vegetable and mineral productions to any in the world.

From the productions, I turn to the inhabitants, and I feel sure, that in describing their sufferings and miseries, I shall command the interest and sympathy of every person of humanity, and that the claims of the virtuous and most unhappy Dyaks, will meet with the same attention as those of the African. And these claims have this advantage, that much good may be done without the vast expenditure of lives and money, which the exertions on the African coast yearly cost, and that the people would readily appreciate the good that was conferred upon them, and rapidly rise in the scale of civilization. The inhabitants may be divided into three different classes, *viz.*, the Malays, the Chinese, and the Dyaks ; of the two former little need be said, as they are so well known. The Malays are not numerous, and, generally speaking, with the exception of the Borneo Pangerans, are well inclined to aid me, as far as lays in their power. The Chinese are about four hundred in number, and the only impediment to their immigrating is their poverty and the present high price of provisions. The Chinese, as it is well known, are divided into kunsis or companies, and a rival company to the one at present here, offers to bring three thousand men in a few months, provided they can get permission to do so. The Chinese are so industrious a people that the aspect of a country soon changes wherein they settle ; and as they are most desirous to gain a footing here, there can be no doubt of success ultimately in developing the resources of the soil, and working the minerals to great advantage.

The Dyaks, by far the most interesting portion of the inhabitants, are confined almost entirely to the mountainous country where they have fastnesses to which they fly on the slightest alarm. These people are mild, industrious, and so scrupulously honest, that a single case of theft has not come under my observation, even when surrounded by objects easily appropriated and tempting from their novelty. In their domestic lives they are amiable and addicted to none of the glaring vices of a wild state: they marry but one wife, and their women are always quoted amongst the Malays, as remarkable for chastity, nor are they degraded as in many communities. The head-hunting, or taking the heads of their enemies, is a feature in warfare by no means new or extraordinary, and, like the scalping of the North American Indian, is a trophy of victory and prowess. Amongst the hill Dyaks, this custom is confined entirely to the heads of enemies, and is the effect, and not the cause of war; their wars are by no means bloody, and are never carried on but by small companies, who enter on the enemies' ground, and lay in ambush for parties or individuals of their foes. The exaggerated accounts of some travellers have been drawn from the more savage and predatory tribes of the coast, but these tribes have forsaken their original customs, and have joined piracy to their former practice of taking heads, and they are not different from other pirates who destroy as well as plunder. The hill Dyaks, such as

I have briefly described them, are a most interesting race, and present more facilities for the amelioration of their condition than any other people. In general, however, they are sunk in misery, and too frequently exposed to famine; but when only moderately oppressed, I have seen tribes, who brought to mind the simplicity, if not the happiness, of primitive society. The number of these people in the country of Sarawak may generally be stated at ten thousand; but with the slightest protection, numbers who have retired beyond the reach of their cruel oppressors, would return to their former habitations. Their freedom from all prejudice, and their scanty knowledge of religion, would render their conversion to Christianity an easy task, provided they are rescued from their present sufferings and degraded state, but until this be done, it will be in vain to preach a faith to them, the first precepts of which are daily violated on their own persons. Never, indeed, were people more oppressed or more wretched; and, although to those far removed from witnessing their suffering and their patience, the enthusiasm I feel, and cannot help expressing, may appear exaggerated, yet probably were they themselves to change situations with me, they would perhaps speak, if not feel, more warmly than I do. In order, however, to give a clear idea of the past and present state of the Dyaks, it will be necessary to revert to the *customs* by which they are governed. They are always considered an inferior race, and a

heavy penalty is imposed on them for committing any offence against a Malay; to kill a Malay, under *any circumstances of aggression*, would subject them to death, or even worse punishment; to strike or scuffle with a Mahomedan, though he be caught in the act of stealing their property, would likewise be a grave offence, and so far is this carried, that should a Malay be hurt by one of the traps laid by the Dyaks for wild boars, the Dyak would gladly compound *this crime* by making over two-thirds of all his property to the person so injured, and he would be lucky to escape at so cheap a rate. On the other hand, a Malay killing a Dyak is rarely punished, even by the imposition of a small fine, and the only inconvenience he suffers, is being unable to visit that particular tribe, from a just fear of retaliation. The direct tax paid by the Dyaks to their local rulers is trifling in amount, but they suffer afterwards, from all sorts of exactions carried on by means of artifice or violence. It would be impossible to describe all these exactions, and I shall therefore confine myself to such as are most oppressive, and the effects of which are most ruinous. The Dyaks, as I have already mentioned, are extensive cultivators of rice, and it will appear from what follows, how necessary a precaution it is to save themselves from the consequences resulting from a failure to meet the demands made on them by the Malays. The local rulers have the following rights:—First, the monopoly of all the Dyak trade in bees'-wax, birds'-

neys, &c., &c., the price of these articles being fixed by the purchaser at a five-hundredth part of their value in the market,—nor dare the Dyak refuse this nominal remuneration, or accept a better from another purchaser. They have likewise the right of indirect taxation, which is carried on to a very great extent, and in the following manner :—An article, say a piece of iron two feet long, is sent to the head of the Dyak tribe with orders for him to buy it at two, three, or even four pounds sterling, and *he dare* not refuse. Another is sent in the same way, another and another, until the rapacity of the chief is satisfied, or, which is more frequently the case, the victim can no longer meet the demand. All their valuable produce is thus wrested from them, rice is taken in the same way, and to finish this list of exactions, they are called upon to labour at antimony ore, or any work too heavy to suit the lazy habits of their tyrants. When the demands of the chief have been met, the herd of petty Pangerans and worthless followers, flock to the plunder of the Dyaks, and by threats, violence, and false accusations, extort what remains of their provision, until the cultivator, who supplies rice *for export*, at the end of each year, has not sufficient to feed his family, and lives on raw sago, fruit, or vegetables, and too often is reduced to a state of famine, as deplorable to contemplate, as it is difficult effectually to relieve. I wish for the sake of humanity I could stop here, but the worst feature of cruelty yet remains to be stated. The

Dyaks, reduced to starvation, sometimes are unable, sometimes refuse to meet these multiplied demands; at other times, the Malays bring some trifling accusation, and often are not at the trouble to seek any plea to justify their proceedings. The result is the same, the Dyak tribe is attacked and plundered, and their wives and children seized *and sold as slaves!*

This practice is carried on to an extent revolting to humanity,—not only here, but throughout the Borneon territory, wherever the Dyaks are weak, and their oppressors strong; and the unwarlike Malays do not incur risk, as they generally employ the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks, aided by a small party with fire-arms, to make the attack. The terms of the agreement are, that the Malays get two-thirds of the property and slaves, whilst the predatory Dyaks get the other third, and all the heads. A few facts which have fallen under my own observation will speak for themselves. Of twenty Dyak tribes under this government more than half have been robbed of their wives and children in part; and one tribe is without women or children amongst them, upwards of two hundred having been led away into slavery at Sakarran and Sadong. The chief of this tribe, when he met me a short time since, described their former, and their present condition with great truth and force, and concluded his appeal in the following words:—"For more than a year we have asked the Pangerans to restore our wives and children: they have promised,

and deceived us. If you will get our families—if you will give us our wives and children back—we will be faithful in prosperity and adversity: we will work for you, and all that we have or can get, shall be yours.” I may perhaps be pardoned for saying, that I am now in treaty for the release of these unhappy victims, and have hopes I may ultimately succeed in restoring them to their husbands. A short time since, the following case came before me:—A Pangeran extorted a slave from a Dyak chief, but left him with his tribe; when a few months after, a Malay, representing himself as sent by the same Pangeran, demanded and took the slave away. The Pangeran denied having sent, and ordered ten slaves to be paid in lieu for the one lost; and would have succeeded in getting them, had I not heard of the circumstance. No comment need be made, except that it is probable he sent for his slave himself; and at any rate, the man who took him remains unpunished. One more fact and I will conclude this branch of my subject. Several of the Borneo Pangerans, about six months since, invited a large party of Sakarran Dyaks to the plunder of the tribes up this river, but before their call was answered my arrival in the “Royalist” disconcerted their plan in some measure. A hundred war proas of the Sakarrans carrying some fifty, and none less than twenty-five men, and in all certainly a body of three thousand men, arrived, however, at Kuchin, and requested permission to make the arranged attack.

The Rajah Muda Hassim, who is incapable of such an act, was worked upon by fear to give over the management of the business to another, and retired into his seraglio. I was all along assured that the Sakarrans could not ascend the river, and the first intimation to the contrary was the departure of the war proas, attended by sixty Malays, to guide them to their prey. They had, however, reckoned too much on my forbearance; for the instant I was apprized of the circumstances, I loaded the schooner's guns and armed her boats, and threatened, not only to attack the Sakarran Dyaks, but to make the Pangerans answerable for their act. After a vain attempt to convince me the Dyaks were too powerful to be resisted, they quietly yielded to my peremptory demand; and I had the satisfaction, on the following morning, to see the fleet return. The consequences would have been lamentable indeed, had these Pangerans been allowed to carry their iniquitous scheme into execution; and I cannot but rejoice, in having been instrumental in saving the Dyaks from this aggravation of their miseries. Since that time, another native chief has sent the Sakarran Dyaks to attack a tribe called Sunpro, and, after a night surprise, they captured forty women and children, killing about the same number of men, and burning their village.

Such is the sad condition of the Dyak tribes: such the sufferings of an innocent and industrious race, which are scarcely to be matched in the annals of nations,

and unequalled, even on the coast of Guinea ; for there, the lot of slavery falls only on a portion of the community, whilst here, it is the wanton butchery and the wholesale slavery of entire communities. I need make no further comment of my own, save that I have endeavoured to render this statement as plain and matter-of-fact as possible ; and have sought, instead of exaggerating, to soften the features of a most horrible picture. After residing amongst this people, and becoming intimately acquainted with their characters and many virtues,—after witnessing their suffering and patience, and being firmly convinced of the facilities with which they might be improved ; after struggling for a year to protect them, and after acquiring their slowly-bestowed confidence, it cannot be a matter of surprise, that I appeal in their behalf, to that generosity, which I am led to think, aids the distressed and commiserates the sufferings of our fellow-creatures. If a case of misery ever called for help, it is here : and the act of humanity which redeems the Dyak race from their condition of unparalleled wretchedness, will open a path for religion, and for commerce which may in future repay the charity which ought to seek no remuneration.

If the British public be indifferent to the sufferings of this unhappy race, now for the first time made known to them ; if, when the means of ameliorating this inhuman state of things, and alleviating the miseries of an innocent and much abused people, are pointed out,

they turn a deaf ear to the appeal, they are not what I believe them to be, and what they profess themselves.

It now only remains for me to state my proceedings since my first arrival at this place, and my views as to the best mode of suppressing the atrocities I have described, and of developing the resources of the country in a commercial point of view. In doing so, I shall confine myself to the lowest possible limit which may offer a fair prospect of success; and I shall be better pleased if the plan is enlarged so as to embrace a more extended field of operations. The rebellion of this place arose out of the intrigues of two or three Borneo Pangerans, conjointly with some of the Pangerans of Sambas, and the Rajah Muda Hassim came from Borneo to suppress it, and to prevent the alienation of the territory. I may say of this prince that he is mild, humane and just; wishing to do well, without the resolution or energy of character necessary, and decidedly partial to the English. On his arrival here he found a most difficult task; and after four years, from the lukewarmness of his followers, the deceit and intrigues of his rivals, and the falseness of some of those about him, he was reduced to circumstances of great distress and difficulty. I first visited Sarawak in 1839, and in July 1840 returned, with the intention of remaining ten days, but my stay was prolonged week after week at the urgent entreaties of the rajah. Having at length intimated my intention of taking leave, a request was made to me to assist in the war, which I

refused in the first instance, but afterwards acceded to, the following reasons inducing me to alter my determination. The Rajah Muda Hassim's cause was undoubtedly just, and was identical with the independence of Borneo: and on the continuance of this independence, depends the considerable trade between the coast and Singapore. I had a good opinion of the Rajah Muda Hassim's character and intentions, and could not but lament to see an amiable prince, who had shown himself partial and friendly to our nation, reduced to such difficulties. The rajah himself urged upon me that he was deceived and betrayed by the intrigues of Pangerans, who aimed at alienating his country, and that if I left him he should probably have to remain here for the rest of his life, being resolved to die, rather than yield to the unjust influence which others were seeking to acquire over him; and he appealed to me that after our friendly communication, I could not, as an English gentleman, desert him under such circumstances. I felt that honourably, I could not do so; and though reluctantly enough, I resolved to give him the aid he asked;—small indeed, but of consequence in such a petty warfare. After a three months' campaign, the rebels surrendered at discretion, and the difficult task of saving their lives was imposed upon me; for although their lives were forfeited by the law of all countries, I could not reconcile it to myself to allow their execution, when I had been a party to their capture. Those who know the Malay

character will appreciate the difficulty of the attempt to stand between the monarch and his victims ; and to the kindness of the rajah's disposition, my success may be attributed. I may here mention that the women and children of the rebels, were taken as hostages, and kept confined for nine months, when I had the satisfaction of releasing them, and restoring them to their families. At this period Muda Hassim offered me the government of the country, and we held several conferences on the subject, when it was finally settled that I should bring from Singapore, a supply of all the necessaries required, and in return receive antimony ore, and that on my return Muda Hassim should give the grant which he had volunteered. I could at once have obtained this grant, but I preferred interposing a delay ; because to accept such a boon when imposed by necessity, or from a feeling of gratitude for recent assistance, would have rendered it both suspicious and useless ; and I was by no means eager to enter on the task (the full difficulties of which I clearly foresaw) without the undoubted and spontaneous support of the rajah. In the month of April of this year, I once more arrived at Kuchin, but it was not until the 24th of September that Muda Hassim affixed his seal to the deed which made over the government into my hands. This delay arose in a great measure from the intrigues of those about him, from his own procrastinating disposition, and from his fear of releasing the rebel families, on which I insisted as a necessary preliminary.

The agreement is to the following effect. "That the country and government of Sarawak is made over to me (to be held under the crown of Borneo,) with all its revenues and dependencies, on the yearly payment of two thousand five hundred dollars. That I am not to infringe upon their customs or religion; and in return, that no person is to interfere with me in the management of the country." This agreement is made only by Muda Hassim; and it may be objected that he alone is not capable of granting without the consent of his nephew the sultan;* but let it be answered to this, that there is no sultan in Borneo, and that the Rajah Muda Hassim's claim is as good as that of his nephew; and secondly, that he holds a deed from his nephew for the disposal of this country according to his pleasure. From the imbecility of his nephew, Amar Ali, the affairs of Borneo are entirely in the hands of the Rajah Muda, and no difficulty will be found in gaining the additional signature, if required. I may add, that since the 24th of September I have issued a brief code of regulations, a translation of which accompany this paper, and have instituted a Court of Justice, where the brothers of Muda Hassim sit with myself to decide on cases. I have also had an interview with most of the Dyak chiefs, to whom I have explained minutely my wishes in their favour, and my intention

* Amar Ali is the nephew of the Rajah Muda Hassim, and claims the title of sultan, but has hitherto been unable to make his claim good.

of substituting a fixed rice tax, in lieu of the system of robbery which is yearly carried on. These measures have all been successful; and our further progress is now only checked by the arrival of a brig from Sambas, with the *avowed* purpose of recovering a debt from the Chinese, and the *real* one of disturbing me here. In the latter attempt, however, they have met with little success; for although causing some anxiety, my influence has been strengthened, rather than weakened by this interference. The only excuse I can plead for this egotistical detail is, that it will be found necessary to the right understanding of my present position; and I escape with pleasure from prosecuting it further, in order to lay before you what may be done by a moderate outlay, in furtherance of the three great objects already mentioned, viz. the extension of trade, the propagation of Christianity, and the suppression of the atrocities practised in the Dyak tribes.

The riches of the island of Borneo are not to be questioned; and it possesses a population of some millions of inhabitants shut up in its interior, who are debarred the use of British manufactures from the restrictive policy of the Dutch, and the state of warfare they live in with the Malays. It will be found impossible, however, to open an effective communication with these people, or to develop the resources of the island generally, without the previous amendment of its internal condition, and until the cultivator derives some adequate remuneration for his produce.

To effect these objects, it is not required that any expensive establishments should be maintained, or any great capital risked, but only that a friendly intercourse should be opened with the chiefs, a knowledge gained of their country, and a free trade encouraged at a station like Sarawak, where the small native canoes might resort, and whence an island communication might be carried on.

It was with these views, I accepted the government of Sarawak ; and in order to carry them out, I propose the following steps :—

1st. To encourage the immigration of Chinese and Javanese, and after twelve months to tax them at the yearly rate of one real, or 3*s.* 6*d.* per head. The same light tax, or its equivalent in rice, to be imposed likewise on the Malays and Dyaks, whenever the former people can afford to pay it.

The industry of the Chinese will insure the prosperity of the country ; and there can be no doubt they will crowd here in vast numbers, when *any government* is established, as they have already persevered in forming settlements spite of repeated disasters arising from the disturbed state of the country. The Javanese, like the Chinese, would easily be procured, and form a body distinguished for their peaceful habits and fondness for agriculture ; whilst the Bugis,* from their love of commerce and enterprising disposition, have expressed a desire to come here, provided I

* The Bugis are the trading races of the Eastern Archipelago.

resolved to stay. In short, there can be no doubt that a country eminently calculated to support a large population, would be rapidly filled, should there be a government sufficiently strong to save them from being plundered, and to clear the sea of pirates. Time, however, is requisite to settle a population, and to allow them to gain some profits from the soil, and the expense in the interim, is the question which occupies my attention, and forms the principal obstacle to success. If left entirely to my own resources for the future, it is necessary that I depend on trade, to defray the charges of the establishment which I am obliged to keep, and being forced to trade, is contrary to my wishes, and my avowed objects, and may weaken my influence, by creating jealousy, and must include a monopoly of antimony ore. I must therefore repeat, that only whilst forced by circumstances, will I mix myself up with commerce.

2ndly. I propose to open a friendly communication with the different chiefs, and with the interior tribes, by visiting them either once or twice a-year, and inspiring a confidence in our good intentions; and there will be no difficulty in so doing, as from their knowledge of me, they are already well disposed to take any steps which I may point out.

3rdly. To return with the Rajah Muda Hassim to Borneo Proper, and through his means, to stop the distractions and intrigues of the capital, and establish an English influence.

4thly. By a free trade to remove the oppression practised on the cultivator, by giving him a proper participation in the profits of his produce. This will be effected, in a great measure, by a post like Sarawak, which they can reach in their small boats, (as the poorer classes of Malays and Dyaks will then trade themselves, which they are now unable to do, in consequence of the distance from Singapore,) and from the visits of the European merchant to the numerous ports on the coast. When the producer is remunerated, the resources of the island will be called into existence, and certainly not one five-hundredth part ever finds its way to market, even from the rivers of the coast. I need not dwell longer on this point, for whoever remembers the former accounts of the city of Borneo, with its European and Chinese trade, and compares them with the present state, will be able to judge what the country might be.

5thly. The extirpation of piracy !

No remark is necessary on this head, except that the slave trade and piracy are carried on openly on this coast ; that each year fleets of piratical Lanoons, wait for the proas* bound for Singapore, and reduce their crews to slavery, after capturing their vessels. Nor is this slavery of that mild description which is often attributed to the Asiatics, for these victims are bound for months, and crowded in the bottom of the

* The Lanoons are pirates inhabiting the small cluster of islands between Borneo and Magindano.

pirate vessels, where they suffer all the miseries which could be inflicted aboard an African slaver. Besides the Lanoon pirates, the Dyaks of Serebas and Sakarran yearly sweep the shore, even to Celebes, murdering the men of all nations, and capturing women and children, rendering the communication along the coast dangerous, and preventing the cultivation of the soil near the sea shores. It is sufficient to say, that all this has been going on for years, within a few days' sail of Singapore, and that it might be suppressed in a few months by vigorous measures. The protection of the Dyak race in Sarawak would quickly follow the residence of Europeans, and indeed, already their condition has been improved in some measure, and in future the residence of missionaries amongst them would give them confidence to resist the unjust demands with which they are now forced to comply. In the present day, I know no field for the missionary which promises such a harvest as the Dyak tribes, if their condition be ameliorated simultaneously with the introduction of a new faith.

These are the advantages which may result to commerce and humanity, by the establishment of a proper British influence in Borneo; and I conceive that policy dictates these measures at the present time, because, in case of any delay, it will no longer be in our power. From the distractions of Borneo, some European state must very shortly interfere in their concerns, and the supremacy of the Dutch government

would be the knell of the British trade which now is carried on, and effectually stop all measures of improvement. A steam-boat of 100 tons, drawing little water, and properly manned and armed, would suffice to carry these measures into effect. This vessel, besides being employed in suppressing piracy and keeping open a communication with Singapore and China, might survey the coast of Borneo and the Palawan passage. This survey is greatly required, to prevent the yearly loss of life which occurs; and a knowledge of these seas is daily becoming important, from the increased communication which will follow our present struggle with China.*

The recent discovery of coal in Borneo (the capital) may attract attention, as facilitating our steam intercourse; and at any rate it is fully time, that a knowledge should be acquired, and a check put, to the depredations of the pirates who issue from the northern ports of Borneo, Magindano, and Saluk.

The establishment ashore, could not be less than six Europeans, ten Javanese, and one hundred Bugis, and the amount yearly for wages at 2,000*l.* to 2,500*l.* sterling, making in all a total of 4,000*l.* to 5,000*l.* yearly expense. I do not dwell on this topic, but the amount here mentioned is probably the lowest on which the undertaking could be prosecuted, so as to ensure a

* I mention a steamer as the most efficient vessel; but my schooner, the "Royalist," might be substituted at a yearly cost of 2,000*l.* sterling.

fair prospect of success ; and as the country becomes populous, it would gradually maintain a portion of the outlay, or its increasing resources might be expended in strengthening its force. The pecuniary amount is not a large one, if the objects proposed be considered ; and for the purposes of humanity alone, larger sums are spent on less certain grounds. I leave, however, the consideration of the subject to those who read what I have already advanced, and whether the government, directly or indirectly, give their sanction to the undertaking, or whether the public, support it, every facility shall, on my part, be given to aid the ends in view, and *no arrangement* which aims at developing the country and assisting the Dyak races shall meet with obstruction from me : for I wish it to be clearly understood that I consider myself as an agent whom fortune has enabled to open the path, and that I am as ready to give place to a successor as I am to remain ; and in doing either, I seek only to advance the object which I consider recommended both by policy and humanity. My own intentions will by no means be altered, if I fail in rousing the attention and sympathy of those able, if willing, to enter on the task ; and the only difference will be, that I must seek to raise the necessary expenses by entering on trade, in which case my position will be less influential and less useful than it would otherwise be, and my attention distracted by details foreign to my principal object. If my own advantage was the prominent motive, the latter plan

has more to recommend it, for at the present time nothing prevents my monopolising the produce of the country and holding its imports as a monopoly too; and if I wanted an excuse, I should readily find it in the example of my European neighbours. I am convinced, however, that nothing but a free trade will benefit this country. and call its resources into existence; but it must be a free trade which strikes at the monopolies of the interior—at Mal y monopoly, as well as others. That my views will one day be appreciated, I feel assured; but if delay be interposed, I doubt whether they will ever be acted upon; for, as I have before remarked, we shall lose the trade we have, if the Dutch encroach on the territory of Borneo. How much may be effected by small means I have already shown; and I am now, and have been holding the government of the country, with the Rajah Muda Hassim's assistance, with only four Europeans and eight natives, and in the space of eight months from a state of distraction, amounting almost to a struggle, the country is peaceful and its inhabitants cultivating the ground. The experiment of developing a country through the residence of a few Europeans, and by the assistance of its native rulers has never been fairly tried; and it appears to me, in some respects, more desirable than the actual possession by a foreign nation; for if successful the native prince finds greater advantages, and if a failure the European government is not committed. Above all it insures the independence of

the native princes, and may advance the inhabitants further in the scale of civilization, by means of this very independence, than can be done when the government is a foreign one, and their natural freedom sacrificed. Whatever may be the result in my own case, I shall have no cause to complain; and whatever sacrifice I may fruitlessly make, it will ever be a source of satisfactory reflection that I have done much good in the country, that I have saved the lives of many men, restored many captives to their families, and freed many slaves from bondage; that I have rescued an amiable and worthy native prince from the difficulties which beset him, that I have restored him to a position whence he can claim what is his due; that I have fostered an industrious and oppressed race, and in a time of famine have relieved numbers from starvation; that I turned back a piratical fleet who would have carried destruction and slavery throughout the country; that I have assisted the Chinese to settle here; and, above all, that I have repressed vice and assisted the distressed. I am proud to say this much; and whatever the future may bring, I am ready to meet: and I sincerely trust it may be of some benefit to the native races and the cause of humanity. Let not those at a distance imagine that I have suffered nothing, or sacrificed nothing in this task; but personal convenience and personal advantage has not been, and is not, my object, and after devoting time and fortune, I shall retire with pleasure, if others will

undertake to prosecute the plan more effectually. And, finally, if I appeal, it is not in my own name, but in the name of the oppressed and enslaved Dyaks. I appeal to those, whose views of policy lead to the extension of commerce ; to the religious body in England, who may here find a field for missionary labour, too long untried. I appeal to the humane who desire to suppress all the horrors of piracy and the slave trade, and whose feelings would lead them to put an end to a state of things repugnant to every idea of right, and to atrocities not to be exceeded in any part of the globe.

J. BROOKE.

CHAPTER VI.

MARCH 16, 1842, TO AUGUST 22, 1842.

No. 30.

MRS. BROOKE.

Sarawak, March 16, 1842.

MY LOVED MOTHER,

MY hurried letter would just convey to you the assurance that I was well and thriving, and more I had not time to write, in consequence of the "Royalist's" boat only staying one hour here to receive orders before proceeding to Borneo. Charles writes me, dearest mother, that you get very anxious when any time elapses without your hearing from me, but you must remember that I write by every opportunity, and that when you do not hear, there is no means of getting a letter to you, and that you have no reason to be *more anxious* than between the intervals of our regular correspondence. In future, however, I do not

think there will be the same length of time elapse, as last year, without your hearing, for I was then arranging the settlement, and could not despatch a vessel ; but this year and in future, letters will be pretty regular every month or two months, except the months of January, February, and March, when we have no certain communication. I am not going to fill my letter to you with the affairs of the country, for these you will learn from Margaret, Emma, and Charles, and Anthony, but I must briefly tell you, that things go on as well as I expected or better, and though I have many difficulties and many troubles, yet none such as I cannot surmount, with patience or vigour. The native population of Sarawak and the Dyaks, are settled beyond my most sanguine hopes, and I have been able to ameliorate their condition in many particulars. My name (*the terror of my name*), and my personally watching the rivers from time to time, has deterred the piratical Dyaks from slaughtering our tribes for the last six weeks, and even this is a great respite, and shows how much may be done in future. Our own Dyaks are taking heart and gathering their tribes, which have been scattered and hunted before, and I have only had to complain of one Dyak chief, who has taken part with the opposition, but whose followers have deserted him ; so that in a month I mean to elect a new head to their tribe, and displace the old one.

The Borneons grin and are sulky, and never come near me, but they can do nothing. Muda Hassim is

my steady friend as I am his, though one act he has committed, has made me very angry with him. You remember my telling you that I released the women and children all but twelve; these twelve young women he insisted upon keeping to give his brothers to wife. One or two I have got out of his clutches, but the rest are married. This *nolens volens* kind of marriage is detestable to our ideas, and I was very angry, but we must make some allowance for their customs. My great difficulty now, is with the Chinese, who are showing dispositions which must be checked in the bud; taking upon themselves an independent authority, and intriguing a great deal with Sambas through the opposition, but they are not strong enough or rich enough to appeal to arms, and they must either succumb or leave the country. At Sambas, they have been allowed to have their own way, and to *buy* permission to commit any outrage they have a mind for, but with me they will be differently tutored, for gold can never move me to do wrong; for I have never cared enough for the vile dross, to subject myself on its account to the pricks of my conscience. Of myself, my dearest mother, I can give the most favourable account; I enjoy a peace of mind to which I have long been a stranger, together with good health. I regard the future without uneasiness, and feel firm enough to meet whatever it may bring, from the settled consciousness that I have done right and achieved good, and if there be a pure pleasure, it is this. What are

my personal sufferings, my poverty, or my death, compared to the rescue of hundreds from a worse fate ; and if it please God to permit me to give a stamp to this country, which shall last after I am no more, I shall have lived a life which emperors might envy. If by dedicating myself to the task, I am able to introduce better customs and settled laws, and to raise the feeling of the people, so that their rights can never in future be wantonly infringed, I shall indeed be content and happy. I may tell you what I would not say out of our own family, that nothing but the devotion of my character, the absence of base selfishness has raised me and kept me where I am. It is this quality which attaches the natives ; the opposite, however veiled with honeyed words, would never pass current, for *they* are themselves masters of flattery and hypocrisy. When they see a real desire to aid them, that I really sympathize in their distress, that I am true to my word, and that I am no flatterer ; they are astonished, but they cannot disbelieve—the bad part however, only hate me for it.

I wrote you for some things which I hope you have sent me, and if the expense is inconvenient I trust you will let me know, and I will direct the money to be paid. I want you now to send me out *my* picture of yourself, not rolled up, but framed, and put in a case. Gardner, of course, will forward it safely. The picture would be a great comfort to me, and I should look at it and kiss it very often. I have already fixed on a place for it in my sanctum, where all my treasures are

deposited. I sit, surrounded by these household gods. Let me tell you that everything is useful here, old carpets, hangings, bell-ropes, all and everything—the carpets the Dyaks like much, as *war-jackets*. I wish you would become the lady patroness of a fancy fair, and send all the articles to me; the young ladies can make housewives and female articles of adornment, purses, pieces of velvet of any size embroidered, &c. &c., all of which my friends would be delighted to receive, and which would attach them greatly; small beads worked on cloth would throw the Dyaks into an ecstasy. You see I would fain give all the lazy girls plenty of work, and they might amuse themselves with bothering every acquaintance, for contributions for the society for ameliorating the condition of the Dyaks of Borneo! Perhaps, if they are very good, I will ask the Dyaks to give me a head or two from their treasures, to return as a compliment!!

More, dearest mother, another time.

20th March.—I begin another sheet, dearest mother, which can be filled up at leisure, as “Royalist” has not yet arrived from Singapore. * * *

I hope by the next mail, to hear from Emma; the last brought me a letter from Charles, and his letters are always encouraging; though I cannot quite look at everything through the medium of his sanguine temperament; nevertheless it is very pleasing to be patted on the back, to be told I am doing right, to have him prophesy fame and fortune, honour and riches, as about

to shower on my devoted head—it is very pleasant—but were it not for other inducements, I should hardly persevere on these accounts—for never child sought bauble more eagerly than I do, but never child cared less for it, when won. You must think me very silly to ask to be made a knight! it is not that I care about knighthood, or that I would seek it in England; but any honour conferred upon me in my present position, is an indirect recognition of this place, and honours here, and in England, are very different. Here, that is at Singapore, as a knight, I should have no equal; and amongst the natives it would be important indeed, for it would proclaim me a chief, greater than the governor of Singapore, or any other on this side Calcutta. If, spite of all these good reasons your *pride* or your *prejudice*, my dearest mamma, dislikes that your son should be a paltry knight, set to and make me a baronet or a peer! and remember now, I shall be a Tory knight—I am glad the Tories have come in, because *you* will be pleased, and Anthony's occupation is gone of abusing the Whigs. At a distance, I view these party struggles with all the indifference of philosophy, and I only desire the good of the nation and a firm Government. Whig as I am, it is a matter of congratulation, that the Tories have a sufficient majority, for a very equal division of party is the very demon of discord and faction. The great fight will now be the Corn-laws—it is a question on which few can form an opinion without greater means than

is generally open ; but there is that in the signs of the times, which assures me it will be carried. The nation is in a state of transition, and I trust the Government will be wise enough to help us through, rather than attempt to impede what cannot be prevented. If they do so, they will have my good wishes and those of most moderate men, but if they resort to a patchwork, give a little from expediency, and withhold much from interest and prejudice, they will wreck themselves and perhaps the nation. So much for politics ! I write on subjects as they meet my attention, and my letter is in the true desultory style—the offspring of leisure and solitude.

My readings are various, but chiefly theological, and the stock in my library is nearly exhausted, as I have now got to the sixth volume of Lardner's works—that monument of learning and candour. I have not written much, and except a brief answer to the *Tract of the Times*, No. 90, nothing on theology. That tract is a disgrace to Mr. —, and all whom it may concern ; it is in the worst jesuitical spirit, false, subtle, and hypocritical.

Do not forget to send me all your books and pamphlets, and tracts, and old newspapers—the ephemera of the season, for they are all amusing or useful—and here I shall soon experience a dearth of reading. Now, dearest mother, I shall lay aside my letter for a time, or it will swell to a most preposterous size.

7th April, 1842.—I have not very much to add, except the arrival of your letter of the 28th October

last, and to my regret and your loss, the return of a letter from me to you, which was written in February of 1841, immediately after my return from the war. It was the first communication I directed to South Broom, and after laying in the post office, Cheltenham, for heaven knows how long, was returned to me. It signifies not now, but it might have given you a little pleasure at the time, and I regret it on that account. I had by "Royalist" a few lines from Mr. Bonham, governor of Singapore, diplomatic but kind, and I think I shall see him here. I hope my exertions will induce the humane, the religious, and the enlightened, to assist me in some way, however I am not sanguine. Alas! that the cause of humanity should require to be pleaded or that it should ever fail to arrest attention.

Many, many loves; in great haste, dearest mother,
Believe me, your affectionate son,
J. BROOKE.

No. 31.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Sarawak, April 4, 1842.

MY DEAR JACK,

YOUR letters of October 3rd and November 3rd reached me together by the "Royalist," and by her I send my reply. I congratulate you on your happy prospects,* and trust every felicity which this world can afford is in store for you. With youth, health,

* Alluding to the Editor's marriage.

independence, and Miss Gordon, what more can you desire, or what more can your friend desire for you. You are formed, dear Jack, to be happy and to make the woman who is united to you happy likewise. You have a buoyant temperament, that sunshine of the heart, the robust and manly temper which women admire, and which men envy. Go, rejoicing on your path, and if I have not the means, literally, to strew flowers in your way, yet every kind wish is with you, from a sincere and distant friend.

Your letters interested me much, and instead of looking forward to a diminution of friendship, I hope, on the contrary, to add another friend to the number of those I already possess. The period of marriage detaches us, or has a tendency to detach us, from all unworthy acquaintance, which is dignified by the name of friendship; but it is calculated to strengthen a real regard which has grown slowly and taken years to mature. I have not very much to tell you about myself, for my life is one of solitude, as far as communion with my fellows goes, and it is a life of much anxiety and trouble. I am, or fancy myself an altered man, and from the change, what seers and old women would call doomed. I cannot exactly explain this change, but it seems to me, as if I walked in the "Valley of the shadow of death;" many things which interested me before, interest no longer; and it seems as if the stimulus of ambition, the love of change, the pursuit of pleasure, or delirium of wine, have no power

upon me; yet I am happy and peaceful, more so indeed than when I had nothing to do—and am resolved, whilst God gives me life and strength, never to abandon the task I have undertaken, until my efforts are of no further use. My position and prospects, rouse some anxious and many serious thoughts, and it is the latter only, which keep the former in some degree of subjection. You give me credit for devotion—alas! had I known all that was required, perhaps I had shrunk from the task, but instead of repining I rejoice that I have taken it on myself; I suffer, but I am more than repaid by witnessing the alleviation of abject misery amongst my poor Dyaks, and even in death, my chief regret now, would be that they would lose the only friend who can assist them. The mention and the thought of self is mean with such noble objects in view, but nature is so strong within us, that we cannot help mixing ourselves up with any task in hand, and our motives when purest, are sure to be mixed with base alloy. Whilst Charles writes me about kingdoms, and fortune, and an immortal name, I am surrounded by difficulties, and all, and more than all of energy and fortune are requisite to support me. I have a large income, not less than 6,000*l.* a-year, independent of my private means; but this is small, when it is opposed to the claims and calls upon it, and all is laid out to advance the good of the country. I have never weighed my own personal interest in the scale, and I am deeply impressed with

the conviction, that the first projector of an enterprize is generally its victim, and that those who follow, reap the benefit ; but this conviction is far from discouraging me from proceeding. Life and fortune I have thrown upon the cast. I work like a galley slave, I fight like a common soldier, the poorest man in England might grumble at my diet ; luxuries I have none, necessities are often deficient. I am separated from civilized life and educated men ; months pass without my being able to communicate with home and friends ; my mind is harassed by pecuniary anxieties ; every trouble and danger is mine, and the prospect of compensation, bare compensation, distant and uncertain. Could money tempt any man to this ? yet as I told you before I am far from discouraged, and I confidently leave my fate, and the fate of this unhappy people, in God's hands.

This is all in the *Penserosa* style, but I have little absolute news to communicate, and what news there is, would not interest, being merely the struggle of the good principle against the bad. The Dyaks are my source of comfort, and have been most easily settled ; as they showed the utmost willingness to obey any government that offered protection. The Sarawak people are *my* people and true. The Borneons are a set of rascals and ruffians. The Chinese greedy and ambitious, supple and oppressive ; and they are formidable, being divided into *kunsis* or companies. There is a project on foot of sending Mr. — to

Borneo, either for the purpose of forming a treaty, or gaining a settlement, and especially to secure a monopoly of the coal which has lately been discovered in Borneo Proper. How such an arrangement will affect me, I yet know not; and whether it will ever take place is uncertain, I am in communication with Mr. — on the subject, and if he chooses to take a proper view of the subject much good may be done, but if he acts with but his own ignorance for his guide, he will do much mischief, by causing a feud between Sarawak and Borneo, and place me in the pleasant position of being opposed to the government. I am prepared for everything, but would rather the shaft should be shot from any other bow. I know not what effect my appeal* will have at home. I fear not much—but it is in God's hands, and I know my friends, though few, will interest themselves. I hope my mother has commissioned you, ere this, to buy the things I want, and wrote for; the circle for observing latitude with a good altitude of the sun, I require very much; and the gun would be very valuable. You are in love, Master Jack, and of course ought to forget everything. If you do not, what will Miss Gordon say. I would write more, but I am pushed for time, and the frame of my mind is a bad one for writing, as it is completely distracted by several momentous questions. I have got a very good account of the Dyak religion—they have a religion descended to them by tradition

* His letter to Mr. Gardner.

from their ancestors. Many loves to all and kind regards and remembrances. What shall I say to Mrs. John Templer. I am sure you will say all you ought to say on the occasion, and I wish you both much happiness. Peter is well, and a great favourite with the rajah and his brothers. He was in disgrace the other day, and they pleaded hard for him. He is a fat, stuggy, good-tempered fellow, and everybody likes him. He is careless, but a careless master makes a careless servant. His head-piece is good, but he is so uneducated, that it is difficult to batter learning into him now. Farewell. Ever dear Jack,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 32.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Sarawak, May 18, 1842.

MY DEAR JACK,

I WRITE in great haste, and therefore briefly, as I only returned this morning from a cruise, and found "Royalist" ready for a start, and all my correspondence on hand. I will repeat the congratulations which I wrote you in my last on your marriage, and wish you every happiness the world can give, and then proceed to my own affairs which have met an unpleasant check from Mr. — which has embarrassed me not a little, and fighting the battle

I am, I cannot afford that my friends or agents turn sharp upon me. The case is briefly this—I drew in April last year for 5,000*l.* on —, an arrangement was made for his repayment, but my friends in England told him that a portion of the sum would not be paid till my signature to some documents arrived. These documents not arriving so soon as was expected, he wrote confidentially to my agents in Singapore that he would not accept any more of my bills until I had consigned some valuable produce. Now, when he did this, he knew that the advance of 3,483*l.* would be liquidated on the arrival of my signature, and was safe as the bank, and that the delay could not exceed three months. In the meantime, however, I had remitted to him antimony ore to the amount of nearly 3,000*l.* thus being clearly in advance, whenever the signature arrived. My agents here, like gentlemen, immediately wrote me on the subject, but were frightened about making advances. I believe I shall be able to put it all right with them and get on, as I have written to Savage to pay off —'s account directly, and the sum in his hands will liquidate the balance against me with my agents here. Mr. — likewise whilst he confidentially intimates his intention to a third party, never breathes a word to me on the subject, and actually offers to send British manufactures, gums, &c. &c., a brig, and Heaven knows what else, on credit; and furthermore offers to take half of the vegetable oil, which it appears is likely

to turn out important; even to the amount of 1000 tons, authorizing me to draw on him on consignment! His notions are perfectly inexplicable to me, and as you may imagine, annoying enough; but less so considering that during the first year, after the first loss and with everything against me, I have held my own very well, and reckoning the ore in store and a cargo which is in store too, I am before the world, with wages. revenue, &c. &c. well paid up, and debts due to me to a considerable amount which I do not reckon on, but which I may receive something from. I want you, when you have time, to carry the enclosed note to Mr. Wise from me, as there are some things which are nearly indispensable, and must be sent out directly. My antimony ore I consign in future to Messrs. S—— and Co., but Wise will not object to act as my private agent in a small way, for old acquaintance sake, and at a future period, if prospects open, I may make it better worth his while. I hold my own gallantly, and the condition of the country is wonderfully improved, and everything going on, satisfactorily. Muda Hassim very true and faithful, and seeing the improvement, getting more resolute every day. Within I have nothing to fear and everything to hope. Externally I am at present involved with the Serebas Dyaks. Earl calls them the Sirbassian Dyaks. They are awful pirates, and their depredations are most frightful. We came to loggerheads with them about a month ago, near the entrance of our river when they were on a

piratical cruise, and with three boats—one small one—attacked thirteen of their large war boats, some carrying seventy to eighty men. We killed a head Panglima and some others, and wounded a good many with only three discharges, when they fled beyond reach. I was not present, and only two Europeans—Peter one of the party. I happened to be up the country. These Dyaks are now collecting a force to attack us, and it cannot be less than one hundred war boats, with from three thousand to five thousand men. However, if they come, we shall be ready in six or seven days, and I hope to teach them a lesson, which will keep them quiet for some time to come. Besides this, I am much plagued by Sheriff Sahib, who is in our next river on the coast, a regular underhand pirate, who sends others to pirate, furnishing the arms and means, and sharing the profits. A Pangeran of high rank, with a small boat, came here from thence a short time since, to recruit for a piratical cruise, which was of course kept secret. Going out he attacked a Chinese boat within our very river, and wounded two of the men severely. I immediately manned four boats and pursued in person for eight days and caught him. His Panglima or fighting man, was a Lanoon, and would not be taken prisoner, and as he threatened to run a muck, and was dancing his war dance on the sand, a desperate rascal, I* took time by the forelock and de-

* Sir James Brooke here speaks in the first person; and it might appear as if he had himself destroyed the Panglima—that this how-

spatched him. The rest of the crew I brought here, and Muda Hassim in six hours executed the Pangeran and another man of rank, and the rest are in chains. I have now sent to Sheriff Sahib to complain of his harbouring pirates, and at the same time, in a friendly way, to inform him, that should the government of Bengal become aware of his river being the rendezvous of pirates, they will certainly implicate him and attack the place. The Borneo treaty lags, but it will take place, and probably as you have laid a sketch of my proceedings before Lord —, he will put it into my hands, as has been proposed to him. I am naturally very anxious to learn the fate of my paper, and how far the higher or mercantile powers, have acquiesced in the views. I can hardly believe, that amid all the rich, the charitable, the religious bodies, such an appeal will be altogether neglected, and amongst the commercial, it must be important. Alas, if one of the

ever was not the case, is evident from his journal, in which the full details of the death of the Panglima are given, and show that the Lanoon fell, not by Sir James Brooke's hands, but by those of Patingi Ali:—"He danced his war-dance on the sand, his face became deadly pale, his wild eyes glared, he was ready to amok—to die—but not to die alone; his time was come, for he was dangerous, and to catch him was impossible; and, accordingly, Patingi Ali, walking past, leaped forward and struck a spear through his back, far between his shoulders, half-a-foot out at his breast. I had no idea that, after such a stab, a man could, even for a few instants, exert himself, but the Panglima, after receiving his mortal wound, rushed forward with his spear, and thrust it at the breast of another man, but strength and life failed, and the weapon did not enter. This was the work of a few seconds." See Mundy's *Narration of Events in Borneo and Celebes*, vol. i. p. 309. See also Appendix (1).

doomed steamers of the African Expedition had been sent here, what a saving of life—what different results might have accrued. Here, we have the finest climate—a country so rich—a people so willing to be improved ; and who can doubt the result, when he reflects that one Englishman with five followers, has ruled the country for a year—that he has restored peace—suppressed robbery—and protected life and property—and that this has been done with miserably cramped means, and struggling against the most adverse circumstances, in consequence of being *obliged* to hold a monopoly. To do real good I ought to be clear of all trade, and the *port ought to be free*. God bless thee, dear Jack ; be happy, for you are virtuous, and believe me,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 33.

MRS. BROOKE.

Sarawak, June 22, 1842.

MY LOVED MOTHER,

I HAVE a little time to scribble, and I'll not lose the opportunity, for I have much to say, and when pressed by other matter, I cannot manage to say it. I am getting on well, and as far as my internal government, have been perfectly successful, and enabled to bestow a great benefit on the people at large, but I am now *externally* involved with my neighbours,

who are rascals and pirates. This I have long foreseen, but I had hoped that they would have allowed me a greater time for preparation. My next neighbour is a Sheriff Subudeen, who governs at Sadung, and whose chief revenue is derived from aiding and abetting pirates and Dyaks, and sharing in their plunder. A pirate-boat from his river, after being here for a week, committed a barefaced piracy in my river, at the same time wounding two Chinese. I followed for eight days, killed one, and took the rest prisoners, and on arriving at Kuchin, Muda Hassim ordered the two principals to be executed. They were men of rank. This act of justice has touched my neighbour, and we have likewise some other matters of difference, as I have prevented him sending his people to plunder my Dyaks. Sheriff Sahib, however, is not bold enough to attack us openly, but has laid a plot with the Sakarran and Serebas Dyaks, who are to come with a large force, and try what they can do in the dark. In the meantime, he sent a Dyak boat to tamper with the fidelity of the people, and thus the whole plot was blown. I am about taking strong measures with him ; and threatening him with a war in earnest, and insisting upon retorting upon him any attempt made by the Dyaks. How it will turn out, who can say ? I have no objection to the war, for these piratical Dyaks and their piratical chief, must be taught a lesson, even for the sake of humanity ; but the expense is serious, and will be troublesome to

me, unless I get some assistance from the folks at home, or from the Indian government. It seems but little to ask of one's country, or its government, to put down the most frightful system of piracy which can be conceived, and yet I put no trust in governments, for they are not moved by motives of humanity and right. Whether this war comes about, or not, I propose going to Borneo in the "Royalist" when she comes, and settling these matters there in a very favourable way to myself and Muda Hassim.

As the government is threatening them with a visit, perhaps a hostile one, they will be glad to see me and receive assurance that there will be no war if they accede to moderate demands. These are my immediate news, which, as you will see, are chequered with good and bad, but wherein the former preponderates as yet. For myself, I meet occurrences with calmness, and I hope with decision, and I believe that when my means are compared to the ends, that it will be seen I have not been deficient in performance. I have now a sacred obligation to perform to the people of this river, both Dyaks and Malays, for I am, in the strictest sense, their only protector. If I be removed, their sufferings will be worse than ever, and if I wilfully leave the post, I shall have much to answer for to God, and my conscience. You know I am not very boastful, but I will say that I conceive what I have already done with my means, is almost wonderful; the people are obedient, and all allow themselves happy. The

Dyaks are coming down to the river, and building residences, which for many years they have not had ; and they show a degree of confidence which is surprising, and which is only limited by the apprehension that my abode here will be temporary. The Chinese are working, and I hope will succeed in making themselves comfortable in another year, and when once they are established, the country cannot be otherwise than prosperous, for, with many vices, they are an industrious and thrifty race. I do not, however, look to their success as the best criterion of mine, for if I sought *only* to *enrich myself*, the readiest way to do it would be by encouraging these Chinese, and giving them power over the Malays and Dyaks ; and by winking at their oppressions, I might, like the Sultan of Sambas, share largely in their profits. It shall never be said of me that I have entered on this enterprise for the sake of gain, and whatever the pecuniary temptation may hereafter be, and whatever the superior ease of pursuing a bad instead of a good cause, I believe I am strong enough to hold the latter and reject the former. I am not by nature greedy of money, my own mere personal expenses have ever been moderate, and as I grow older, I am less ambitious than I was ; but those far away, living in ease and safety, cannot imagine the ties which bind me to these people. The strong desire I have to confer a lasting benefit on them by the introduction of *some* government approaching to good, the deep feeling of commiseration for the vir-

tuous and unhappy Dyaks, and my indignation at the atrocities to which their ruin and the rapid decline of the race towards extinction, may be attributed. At a distance, you, my mother, cannot form a full idea of these feelings—of the stern resolution they inspire to prosecute my designs—to urge my relatives to appeal to every person of humanity to aid the cause—to lay aside all selfish and mean considerations—to exhaust all my means, and if all fail, and I receive no help from without, to fight out the battle and to *die*, as I have latterly lived, for the good of this people. When I look at what I have already done, and see how little is needful to render it permanent, some assistance, *perhaps*, in a pecuniary way—an occasional demonstration by a steamer or man-of-war—an effort on the part of government to suppress piracy, I cannot believe I shall be pushed to the last extremity, or that it will be required of me to ruin myself quite in this undertaking, but if the government or individuals do not come forward, it will require all my energies, and all the assistance of my relations. The former I can trust to as yet, on the latter, likewise, I have great reliance, but I cannot expect they will take the same views as I do, or that they should lay aside permanent claims; but this I am certain of, that right and noble objects, consistently and warmly advocated, will be attended to, and many who would coldly listen from afar, will be roused to exertion whenever these objects are fairly laid before them, and pressed upon

their attention. I am well aware, of the coldness of heart which civilized life begets, and the reluctance and deadness most persons have, to assist or advocate any cause, the success of which is problematical ; but energy rouses energy, warmth creates warmth, and one single individual, animated by enthusiasm, is sure to awake it in hundreds or thousands. It is on this account I want to rouse you all—to animate you, to exertion—to induce you to lay aside all despondency, for you must remember that this despondency applies to me personally, and that my life, or the life of any other individual, is the smallest possible consideration in such an undertaking, which embraces the happiness and lives of thousands, which may confer an ultimate benefit on my own country as well as on this people ; may open the commerce of this vast and most important island, and carry the blessings of civilization and religion into regions now unknown. Can it be, that an appeal will be made in vain, to the British government and public, in favour of one of the most interesting races, who are disappearing from the earth—whose sufferings are greater than that of the negroes, and whose virtues and moral qualities can readily be ripened to civilization, and whose industry and meekness will insure the advantage of their benefactors ? Can it be, that a system of piracy, slavery, and murder, can be permitted so close to an European settlement, when it is made known ? I know not ! but, as I said before, my life is a slight consideration, and if to

gain my object, my life was required, I would give it as freely as I risk it now. I hope everything, I fear nothing, and I am supported by a consciousness of right, which has rarely flagged under the greatest pressure, and has never deserted me. My friends, though not many, are true and trusty. Templer you may confide in, and he will act and push. Morris too, and some others. I have written to Wise to undertake my affairs, which I have taken out of Mr. — hands, and through Wise you will be able to forward your letters or anything else, and into his hands pay any money which may be due to me. The direction is Messrs. Melvill, Wise and Co., 75, Old Broad Street, London. Wise is a pleasing and gentlemanly man, and has always taken great interest in my proceedings, and I am sure will advance them as far as lies in his power. So much for business—now for pleasure. You ask me for a perfect confidence, and I have given it you with all its asperities, and you, dearest mother, will pay the penalty, when I confide to your tenderness the harsh and stern realities of my present situation; but life, in all its phases, presents nothing but stern realities, and it is only our imagination that gilds the leaden clouds of every-day life. I remember well, the days when we used to wander up and down the garden; and our sunny walks in Water Lane, with all the beautiful veronicas budding to the warmth, and rivalling the sky in colour—when I used to tell you all I thought, and all I wished; and, indeed, most part

of my life, loved mother, I have had scarce a concealment from you; but I was then young and full of hope and despondency by turns, and I was not acting, but only wishing to find a sphere of action. Since then, my character and feelings have greatly altered, and I am acting instead of dreaming and hoping; but now you are my confidant as you were then, in almost everything that a mother can hear. I have found a sphere of action which is worthy of pursuit, and when I see around me many grateful beings, many who owe to my exertions their lives and all they have, I feel that I have not lived in vain, and that one year of such existence is worth a century of such a life as I have been compelled by fate to lead. My reflections are all pleasing, spite of my pecuniary and other difficulties. I feel tenderly and kindly towards all the world, and I thank God for the many advantages which I enjoy. My health is good, my mind cheerful, my time fully employed. I hope for the best, and I know that death is the worst fate which awaits me. What, in my situation, loved mother, should induce me to return home, except the desire to see you and my sisters, and some few friends? Come home I will, directly I can in justice to my people, but there is nothing in my position which would induce me to make England my permanent home. I warmly desire, however, to embrace my mother once more—to meet my dear sisters and to kiss the young ones—yet, until something is done to render this place permanent and

beyond the reach of every petty disturbance, I see not exactly how I can leave. As I have said before, you cannot appreciate the enthusiasm I feel for this people, whom God has, as it were, placed under my care, and I declare to you, dearest mother, there is no sacrifice I would not make to see the blessing of a permanent government established here, and whether for good or bad—for life or death—I shall fight on with the firmest assurance that I am doing right, and that any other line of conduct would be a betrayal of the sacred trust I have undertaken. Though you may know that I have a great deal to do, yet I continue most of my lazy habits, and I generally compress a good deal of work into a short compass. I read daily and nightly several hours, and my studies are very Theological, and I have now gone so far as to write a treatise against Article 90 of the "Oxford Tracts," which is a Jesu-ital performance.

I have absolutely read every work in my library, many of which, of a tough sort, I certainly should not have managed to go regularly through, amid the distractions of civilized life. We are now in the month of June, our hot weather as well as yours, and I am not yet settled enough to fly to the top of a mountain. Perhaps, dearest mother, you are enjoying the country either at Lackington or Hillingdon at this season. I revert with pleasure to our many excursions, and always consider you as well and cheerful, taking the evening stroll in the fields, and relishing

the morning bouquet. Summer presents a pleasing picture to my mind—let those enjoy winter who can ; but to you and to me it brings nothing but its cheerless aspect and its biting cold.

June 8th.—I will briefly finish this long letter by saying that I go to-morrow to meet the Serebas Dyaks, who are reported to be at the mouth of our river in force, do not let your maternal heart tremble ; to fight these piratical and head-taking vagabonds is necessary in my situation, and hereafter, I and all my people, and the entire coast will enjoy peace. if these Dyaks can be taught a lesson. I apprehend no danger, and yet danger and death is ever near to man, and if it be the latter overtakes me, remember, my mother, that I have died as I have lived, with the purest feelings of affection towards you, and that I have died nobly, trying to benefit my fellow-creatures. Farewell then to you all, and believe me in life or death,

Your affectionate son,

J- BROORE.

July 13th, 1842.—Since writing the above long letter, I have received your most welcome one of March or April. This is not to notice it. I close by saying that to-morrow I start for Borneo, and my next letter will be a continuation of this—both despatched together.

No. 34.

MRS. BROOKE.

Sarawak, August 19, 1842.

MY LOVED MOTHER,

THIS is a continuation of my former letter which was finished just as I started for Borneo Proper. To Borneo we went, met with a most cordial reception, and gained every object we desired. The first was a reconciliation between Muda Hassim and the sultan, the second the sultan's ratification to my holding this country, and the third to get the shipwrecked crew of the Lord Melbourne. All this is done, and I am the Governor of this country by as good a title as it is possible to conceive. Every other news is good internally, and externally we are at peace. The Serebas Dyaks have not once been out of their river in force, and I may say it with pride, that this *year only* there have hardly been any lives lost, every other season two or three hundred heads were a moderate prize for the Dyaks. In fact I have no trouble at present, and I foresee none. I cannot tell you, loved mother, what pleasure your letter gave me—its cheerful tone, its affectionate encouragement, its appreciation of my plans, and its *latent* enthusiasm, and now that I can convey to you such cheerful news, such complete success, such good prospects for the future, I know I shall make your heart glad, as you have done mine. So you were pleased that I wrote home for the gun and the circle,

and the magic lantern ; but if you make this the test of my confidence, perhaps I shall be induced to abuse it, however, I am going to confide in you by writing for more things, which though not expensive, are very needful and very difficult to be got. Here is the list, first, cutlery, scissors of all sorts, a dozen or two ; knives, from pen-knives to pruning knives ; and a pair of black-handled razors ; second, a house-wife, containing thread, pins, needles of all sorts, buttons (very complete) ; third, shoes (Mr. Bone of Bath has my measure), let them be easy, and not fashionable ; half a dozen pair thick shoes and lace boots ; fourth, a paint box, not expensive ; fifth, good pencils, and half a dozen small albums, such as Moonie uses ; sixth, a sword, with a fine temper, powerful cut and thrust ; and a gold and red belt for the same.

Another commission I have for all the ladies, which is to make a quantity of cloths from fifteen to eighteen feet long, and from nine to fourteen inches wide. The material to be coarse Russia duck, such as seamen wear, each end is to be worked about a foot and a half, in different fashions according to the ladies taste, either in gold or red threads, spangles, beads, shells, or the like, and some may be fringed with red, or gold, or blue, in worsted or silk. Now, I have given you all my commissions, I have little news, except that I am rejoiced to return once more to my house, for "Royalist" was uncomfortable in the extreme, having a hundred men aboard, twenty-four in crew, twenty-three liberated

captives, and the rest, followers of two of the rajah's brothers I had with me. I hope to be another year without moving to Borneo or elsewhere. We have just got in hand a small garden, which is a source of amusement to us all, and I hope will at a future day, supply our table with vegetables. I have now a flock of sixteen goats, and one cow. My farm and diamond mine in the interior get on badly, being badly managed; as yet we have not lifted the diamonds, and the dam which stops the river has, I hear, been washed away.

I have had no news as yet of the "Wolverine," though I dare say by this time she has proceeded on her way to China. I wrote to —, and one or two other friends to have Charlie* ashore, and make much of him, and should very much have liked to have seen both him and Willes.† All the news at the beginning of March was very good, and I hope the return of "Royalist" will likewise bring me accounts of all those I love, being in good health. You will be a little fidgetty perhaps by the non receipt of letters a month after they are due; if after the receipt of this, two more months elapse without letters, you must not be uneasy, as I shall probably have to send "Royalist" to Borneo again. "Royalist" will sail in six or seven days, which runs me hard with my correspondence, as I have a long letter to write to Singapore about my Borneo

* Charles Johnson, Sir James Brooke's nephew.

† Captain Willes Johnson, R. N.

trip, and moreover, many other matters to engage my attention, so many indeed, that I can hardly finish a single letter without several interruptions. I shall now bid you adieu, dearest mother, and add a few lines when "Royalist" sails. Give many loves to all with you at Lackington and Hillingdon, may every blessing be with them. God bless you, loved parent.

Believe me ever your affectionate son,

J. BROOKE.

No. 35.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Sarawak, August 22.

MY DEAR JACK,

I CANNOT thank you enough, and therefore will not attempt to thank you at all, for all you have done and are doing, but I am well aware amid your increasing professional engagements, my work must be a tax on your time. Your last was written during the honeymoon, and after my paper had gone to the printers. Your design upon Mrs. Fry is most laudable, and I trust she will lead all the religious world. Oxford and Cambridge I have no hopes from, because they are not interested parties, and as a body, they are bigots and book worms, who think more of their own squabbles than anything that is going on abroad. Don't forget

Sir Fowell Buxton, though Sir Fowell must be disheartened by his African expedition, yet for all he is a man of influence, and stands in the place of Mr. Wilberforce. With all this, I think if the paper attracts attention, you should submit it to the government, for fear they should say they were neglected, and besides they might be in a good humour after they have got the property tax. You do not say anything about the press, though of course you will not neglect it, and the mercantile body, though never moved by generous or disinterested motives, are alive to their own interest, and if they see an opening likely to increase trade, they will assuredly pour in and help with money. When the vagabonds are laying out millions in mining speculations in the mountains of South America, cannot we get them to supply our exchequer with some dirty thousands. The press—the press—agitate, agitate, ding dong, knock it into their ears, and perhaps after a time, they will awake like an alderman after a surfeit, and with a few grunts think that a penny may be turned. Ah Jack, it is a hateful world in detail; with so much good in the lump—so much virtue in the mass, yet the detail is all meanness. However to business: you tell me to have patience, and to hold on, until the result of your efforts are visible, and that the earliest we can expect will be in 1843. Now this will be no trouble or inconvenience to me, and the only fear is, that if the folks at home are dila-

tory, that I shall have made such rapid advances towards prosperity, that I shall be reluctant to hold by the terms I at first offered them. My exchequer is very flourishing, the antimony ore gives me 6,000*l.* a year. I have a revenue of rice, mats, fowls, cocoa-nuts and the like, besides a little money. The Chinese are flourishing, and have got gold, and I can foresee every prospect of an improving trade. I must, however, go a little into particulars to make you comprehend all I have been about since my last. You know that the government of India had resolved to send an embassy to Borneo, and proposed a settlement, or at any rate a treaty including the possession of the coal. The pressure of the China and Affghan wars, has however caused long delays, and as my affairs did not allow me to wait longer, I resolved on going myself to Borneo. I had before represented to the government, how injurious it would be to the permanency of any arrangement, if they treated with one faction only, of the Borneo chiefs to the exclusion of Muda Hassim, who is certainly the most worthy and the most friendly. My object in going was threefold, first, to effect a reconciliation between Muda Hassim and the sultan; secondly, to gain the sultan's signature to my holding this country; and thirdly, to release a number of captives of the shipwrecked crews. Muda Hassim's two brothers accompanied me, and in ten days everything was arranged. Muda Hassim and the sultan were sincerely reconciled,

and Muda Hassim's party in Borneo were strengthened. In fact the only reason for any separation between the parties, seems to have been jealousy of each others intentions. The sultan gave me his signature as the governor of this country, but I cannot by stipulation alienate it without his consent. Thus, you will perceive my right here, is now as good as that of the East India Company to Singapore. The captive native seamen have all come with me, to the number of twenty-four, miserable half-starved devils. This being accomplished, we returned here three days ago, and I hope in four or five days more "Royalist" will be on her way to Singapore. What I formerly said of the condition of Borneo, falls far short of the reality, and to say it is in the last stage of decay, gives but a faint picture of the condition. There is no government. The chiefs are poor and rapacious. The people oppressed and miserable, the territory is occupied by any adventurers who are strong enough. The pirates ravage the coast and threaten the capital, and in one year the Borneons assured me, that six hundred men had been carried away into slavery, from the mouth of the Borneo river, and from proas sailing in the vicinity. In short, it is in that state, that it must fall into the hands of an European power, and it is a pity for want of moderate aid and assistance, which would ensure us the trade and a paramount influence, that it should pass to the — or the —, yet rather than see it in the hands

of the former, I would help the latter to acquire it, and they are seeking a settlement. Is it doomed that we are to be so obstinate and dilatory, as to allow so fine a country to slip away from us? a country superior to Java in its produce; it produces everything, and to the list I before sent you, may now be added saltpetre. Coal alone, so rare a feature in these climates, may be a formidable acquisition in the hands of a rival trading power, a most advantageous one in our own. Borneo is central between Singapore, China, and Manilla, and a steam line must extend to India on one side, and Australia on the other. If my views were magnified, if I talked of millions, or hundreds of thousands, or regiments of soldiers, or fleets of ships, then they might look, and hesitate before they leaped, they might doubt the advantages which should repay so large an outlay; but the objects I propose are greater than may be supposed, they are dictated by humanity, the outlay is nothing, and that outlay would be added to the amount of commerce. Can the government hesitate? Will they not even inquire? We shall see. I propose soon to send you a paper on the Dyaks—their customs, manners, habits, &c., and another on the geography of the coast between Tanjong Datu and Borneo Proper. I have been obliged to clip some hundreds of miles of habitable land off the charts, and though my chart will not aim at minute correctness, it will be sufficient for all the purposes of navigation. The number of vessels

which are lost amid the reefs of the Palawan passage is lamentable, and I think a course along the N. W. coast of Borneo, and from thence outside, or inside Palawan, would avoid the greater part of the dangers.

I received a long and kind letter from R——. I hope you will keep up an acquaintance with him, for he is really an amiable and estimable person, and such are not very plenty, and he is unfortunate.

Of our folks at home I received the most pleasing accounts; my mother writes in excellent spirits, and encourages me to proceed. Charles Johnson, always sanguine, seems to expect that a gold mine will explode at my feet. All the children are getting beyond my knowledge. Little Charlie, the Middy of the "Wolverine," has, I apprehend, gone on to China. What would I not give to see the boy? and I daresay if the China affair is settled soon, —— will by hook or crook manage to come along this coast, and find me out. I have a great mind to write to Jem, but I do not know where to find him, and perhaps my letter will go wandering over Botany Bay. Is he really getting on? that is, is he making money, or is it but a stagnation? I am afraid Jem is a real bad hand at money-making. Of personal news I have very little to tell you. I am well. I am content. I am employed. I have lately made a garden which I take pleasure in, and intend to have a plantain grove—the large fresh green leaf is always pleasant to the eye, and to the mind. It is con-

nected in my mind with many associations and scenes and company. Besides my garden, I have a flock of goats, which I cherish and intend to increase. My diamond mine as yet is a failure, not from want of diamonds, but from the dam washing down, and in truth the manager is a bad one!

How, dear Jack, do you thrive? you must be an old man by this time! So long married, that I presume you have given up all the follies of your youth, dancing, and fiddling, and quoiting, and leaping, and running. I, who have no wife, have a full right to continue young, as long as I please or can. Offer my kind regards to your lady, whose acquaintance I hope to make some day or other; to Prior and your sister, and to all the Bridport party. I hope all are as well and as happy as I wish them. You know I prophesied that Prior would be Lord Chancellor, and you may be sure he will be *that*, or something else great. Which same remark is so much in the style of my favourite, Mrs. Bennett, in "Pride and Prejudice," that I cannot help asking you whether you ever read Miss Austen's novels? if not, get them all, and set to work; for my part, I have read them a dozen times since I have been out, and as books get scarce, am likely to read them a dozen times more. They are unique and inimitable. As for reading, you can scarce conceive what a reader I am, what tough morsels I can swallow of theology—such books as civilized life never permits

one to read. I must close for the present. My letters no doubt are disjointed, and in truth I never get any time to settle to one without interruption ; in the mornings and in the evenings I dislike writing. I have now given you all my news, and will close with every kind wish, adding a few lines when the " Royalist " is at the mouth of the river.

Yours, dear Jack, ever affectionately,

J. BROOKE.

CHAPTER VII.

OCTOBER 12, 1842, TO APRIL 11, 1843.

No. 36.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Sarawak, October 12, 1842.

MY DEAR JACK,

YOUR letters of April 29th, June 3rd, and July 4th, all reached me three days since. How can I enough thank you for all you have done and are doing? I remember in one of Miss Edgeworth's novels, a character of my own name, whose motto was, "deeds not words," and I must take the motto on the present occasion. You cannot require any thanks from me, for we know each other and each other's feelings too well, but what I fear is, that the many claims on your time which I exact, (no not exact) will not be good in a professional point of view. If it be so, do not neglect yourself for me. All your accounts are

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stirring and favourable, and I really begin to think what I scarce hoped before, that the Government will recognise me, sooner or later. This once obtained, more will follow, according to our progress and deserts. You congratulate me on standing in the position I deserve. I answer that my task is only beginning, and that much work is still before me; but it is work which it is gratifying to fag at, and as wave succeeds wave, it is proud to ride triumphant over each, in succession. The avidity shown by the intelligent public, by so many leading men, to read my letter is certainly flattering, and ——'s attention to the project seems almost personally kind. J——, writes me from China, that ——, often talked to him about me, and always expressed himself interested in what I was doing. The "*Morning Herald*" was high in praise—the "*Literary Gazette*" I did not receive. The "*Calcutta Englishman*" abuses me, and is abused in return without my intervention. The "*Singapore Free Press*" republished the letter in full, and the Singapore merchants are just awake to what I am doing, as they previously predicted nothing but death *or ruin*. I have half a mind to write to ——, but I fear the intention will fall still-born, from my aversion to intrude. It might be flattery, or meanness, or look like these common and most amiable qualities. To ——, you must remember me, and thank him for his kind note; for decided approbation in the infancy of an undertaking is worth a cloud of subsequent incense. You may apply this remark to others

who reside not a hundred miles from Greenwich, and go daily per steamer to the Temple.

I must now give you a brief recapitulation of my proceedings, in case my former letter miscarry.

1st. I have been to Borneo, reconciled all the chiefs and Muda Hassim, and gained the sultan's signature to my title. In consequence of this, Muda Hassim will return to Borneo shortly.

2nd. I have become good friends with my next neighbour, and extracted from him a promise not to receive or encourage any Lanoon pirates.

3rd. The Serebas Dyaks, after one licking, when we caught them, red handed, have taken such alarm, that they have not for the last four months been to sea, and the trading natives are now passing from river to river along the coast without apprehension or danger. Not one town or village has been attacked this season, whereas every other year they were constantly slaughtered wholesale. As yet, I have no communication with these Dyaks, but I understand they desire it. It only proves that, by a high tone, and at the same time, active cruising, and a little thrashing, how much may be done. Six large Saluk proas came on the coast, but did not stay long enough to enable me to attack them; they all know that English are here, and the fame of our prowess and power, far exceeds the reality. I have constantly a steamer and man-of-war at command, in nubibus, and these ideal vessels answer the purpose for the present. The Sakarrans, are quite

quiet, and the other rivers are favourable, as far as I hear. Kejang, the most powerful, decidedly so.

Internally, we flourish. Muda Hassim as friendly as ever. The rascal and adverse Borneo Pangerans, crushed and quiet. This bad population will only remove with the rajah. The Sarawak people, content and happy, and just finding out that they may labour with a chance of getting paid. The Chinese flourish, and have procured gold, and make no complaints. Thirty Javanese settlers have arrived, and more are to follow. Klings who want to come over—numerous—to set up shops. Heaven help us! The Dyaks are all I could wish—every measure I have taken in their favour has succeeded; they are no longer oppressed, and are working away with a will, and paying their *income* tax of rice, regularly and honestly. One tribe alone was an exception, and the chief wanted to try me and killed six other Dyaks, contrary to my orders. I killed him or rather executed him* *after trial*, for this act, and his tribe were much obliged to me, and are quiet ever since. *My great* measure has been forbidding the war of one tribe with another within my territory, and now they have agreed to it. I could not strain it further at first, for fear of too great an inroad on their prejudices, but this step is a very great one. I breathe peace and comfort to all who obey, and wrath and fury to the evil doer, and they are so accustomed to be ill-treated, that they are obedient under

* See Appendix (1).

most circumstances. I hold the same views that are published after a better acquaintance. They are an honest, industrious, frugal race, and remarkably true spoken; their vices are distrust, poor fellows, and a touch of obstinacy. From eight to ten thousand have come in to request my protection and trade, and said through their ambassadors, "We have heard—the whole world has heard—that a son of Europe had arrived, who was a friend to the Dyaks." By my faith, Jack, through your exertions, the savage was not so far wrong. These were all interior tribes, who had never even in their traditions, been within the limits of the tides; they inquired why the water ran up the river, and being told it came from the sea, refused to drink it for fear of falling sick.

I would fain say nothing of —, as in "Nicholas Nickleby" he takes "demnition" interest in my affairs now, but when he thought my chances bad, he positively did write to —, *confidentially*, that he would accept no more of my drafts, and urging the madness of my undertaking, and what was worse, stating that I was largely in his debt; whereas he knew that arrangements had been made for payment of all his advances, and that I was, on the arrival of a law document, much on the right side of my books. I regret this, because he was an old acquaintance and a useful man of business, and, in my present position, admirably calculated to forward my concerns; but what could I do under the circumstances; my resources

stopped, my credit injured, and —— writing me that the bills which I had *already given*, he had kept back to give me time. —— may and probably will tell you that —— has cut him out of the business and behaved badly, but so far from that, I was never even *applied to*, to *ship* antimony ore to —— and ——'s correspondents at home, and one small lot which was inadvertently consigned to them, was made over to ——, without an objection of any sort. Further, you know me well enough to believe how loth and unlikely I should be to slight an old acquaintance for a new one, even if I had got any advantage by it, and you are aware that with many conveniences and your recommendation to back it, I would not employ Wise because —— had given no reason for leaving him. As for —— and ——, I would serve them the same if they acted the same, and so I would any agent I employed. I say all this, because —— may be fractious, and will likely try and injure me (but he will not do so till he has appealed to me again), and you can answer if he is saucy. With respect to ——'s mercantile views they are narrow, and would ere long *be ruinous* to me. The antimony ore is a safe article at 14*l.* the ton, and the consumption steady, but by his monopolizing and harshly keeping up the price to 20*l.* and 23*l.* per ton, he would raise opposition from the Spanish antimony mines, and when this opposition was raised they would run a purse muck against us—prices would come down, and before they would be raised again I should be

seriously injured, if not ruined. Yet he seems, by his letters, to be blind to these consequences. Add moreover to this, that the consumption is in exact ratio to the price, and with high prices and risk, you will not make more than with moderate demands and safety.

For the rest, the trade *looks up*, and directly Muda Hassim goes away, besides our own trade we shall have a considerable trade with the coast.

There is a great deal said about my giving up my advantages, but surely it never could be understood, that I would yield all I had done to the first adventurer who demanded it; but suppose a merchant or merchants with a large capital wished to locate, it might easily be arranged with advantage to them and to me. For instance, they must guarantee the expenses of the government in the first place, and in the second, they would not expect me *to quit*, or to work for nothing; so they ought to give me a sum of money and then take the trade as it is into their own hands, (*i. e.*) an open trade in everything but antimony ore, and the antimony ore they might monopolise for three or five years. It must be a trading concern, for to derive for a hundred or two hundred years any amount of revenue is not to be looked for—it will I hope be sufficient to maintain me shortly, but for a company they could not look to it. These are my views at present, but I would modify and alter them if necessary; but after a Government recognition, of course I shall rise in my demands. I could not leave the country, for at present it is only

the personal affection of the natives which insures obedience and good conduct, and any *English person*, ignorant of their language and habits, and with abstract ideas of legislation, would soon embroil himself.

I would not wish you to conclude anything, but if I remain in my present trading concern, I must have a partner with a small capital, and one well acquainted with the native trade, but, dear Jack, those dreams of ——'s are not sound, and what is more not over honest, for all his letters to me, and his conduct about the draft, (all I think arose from the same idea,) show, what he tries to disguise, that he wanted to have me in his own hands. Now the *sovereign* of Borneo (I bow to the "*Morning Herald*,") is not to be a servant of ——'s Place, but will only treat with Downing Street. The misfortune is, I am no trader, my head can compass general views about it, but the detail is a pill I cannot swallow ; not from pride, not from its interfering with my regal dignity, but from being both from art and nature unfit for it. This is all I have to say and enough, about myself and my affairs. From your letters I learn that you are getting on well, but you give no particulars except of *your home*. I want to learn about your debût at the bar—how you speak, how you felt when you first spoke, something about the circuit, &c. &c. I want you likewise to send me information of Bridport, of your dear father and mother, and all. Your home is a happy one, and I rejoice to hear it and to read of your walks and read-

ings. Your wife must be my friend—it is an obligation entailed on her with marriage. I must beg you to convey to her my regards, with a hope that some day when we part after meeting, I may add remembrances. I have written to Jem, and I keep in mind that if Sydney is not good for his spec, perhaps he will find this better, and that I shall be able to forward his views.

This letter goes to-morrow by a 500-ton ship, which has come here on her own account!! My correspondence will not all be finished, and if my mother does not receive a letter by this post, you must send her this to read, with my love. God bless you, and

Believe me, ever dear Jack,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 37.

MRS. BROOKE.

Sarawak, October 16, 1842.

MY LOVED MOTHER,

YOUR letter is the last I have to write of a very long series, and, like a plum, I have kept it to the last, in order that you may have the very latest news. All the news is good—from home very encouraging—from Bengal rather favourable, and here we are peaceable and progressing. I do not intend entering on long de-

tails about Sarawak politics, for I have dwelt largely on them to Templer, who will let you know all about it; and I shall turn my attention to our more domestic matters. Your two letters, of April and June, reached me together, and there is much in them to reply to—First, that rascally hoax about Johnny,* which I have no doubt was a mere sally of some light-headed comrade, who never thought of parents or relatives—however, all is well that ends well, and Emma is not the worse either for grief or joy. I shall be delighted to see the gun and the circle, but the other things I do not care about, and only mentioned, supposing you had plenty of money to spare; and pray let this be your criterion in sending anything that costs money. Labour I must impose upon you all, you must all work at needle-work, and make me housewives, and all that sort of thing, for you will all be immortalized amongst the Dyaks. Seriously though, dearest mother, do not put yourself to any expense on my account, for these things that I ask of you are not needful to me, and rather curiosities, than anything better. You know how — has used me, and that I have cut him for it, as I would any other man who played such a game. I will beg you, dearest mother, to insist that these arrangements shall be carried out, provided they be not already, for I can't help thinking, that law paper is lost, as otherwise, it ought to have arrived in England long since; and when one considers the

* John Brooke Johnson, Sir James Brooke's nephew.

number of hands it passes through, it is nothing so very wonderful, for I am convinced much of my correspondence goes in the same way. I dislike trade because I am so ignorant of it ; but you may rest assured, I shall not foolishly throw away any chance to benefit myself, which is consistent with the benefit of the country. You must at the same time bear in mind that had I acted on the *principle of a trader*, I should not have held my present position, and in grasping at my own advantage I should very likely lose the moral influence I possess over the people. If fortune is an effect, resulting from security and good government, I will not, be certain, throw it away ; but I have always endeavoured to take an enlarged view of the subject, to hope that thousands will be benefited when I am mouldering in dust ; and that my name will be remembered, whenever it is thought of, as one whose actions showed him above the base and sordid motives which so often disgrace men in similar circumstances. No personal consideration has deterred me from proceeding ; and if I can govern with a moderate fortune, clear of trade, my influence would be very great ; but expenses must be paid, and what is worse, I must hold the monopoly, which is wrong on principle, and anybody who succeeds me ought to insure me a *maintenance*, and, I think, repay me my expenses. To yield the government would be madness, for my influence is as yet personal ; and my mantle could not suddenly be transferred, especially as it is incumbent that a suc-

cessor should be versed in the native language, and acquainted with native manners. I hate the idea of an utopian government, with laws cut and dried ready for the natives, being introduced. Governments, like clothes, will not fit everybody, and certainly, a people who gradually develope their government, though not a good one, are nearer happiness and stability, than a government of the best, which is fitted at random. I am going on slowly and surely, basing everything on their own laws, consulting all their head men at every step, reducing their laws to writing, and instilling what I think right, merely in the course of conversation—separating the *abuses* from the customs. Their minds thus prepared, I shall take a forward step—arrange and print. Nor are the natives by any means deficient. They show considerable acuteness of apprehension, without a shade of bigotry—they attack, and they defend, and will point out the particular bearings of a law, in a manner which would astonish Jack Templer himself. All that I have done yet, is to issue a code of first *principles*, viz. ; “That one man may not rob another. That if a man likes to work, he may work ; if he likes to trade, [he] may trade ;” and the like. When Muda Hassim returns to Borneo, then I shall get on faster, for as long as he is here, the natives have not sufficient confidence.

I wish I could show you my journal about Borneo, for I am sure it would amuse—this same journal has now run to some fifteen manuscript books, written in my

scrawling manner, and I dare say one small volume of new matter might be selected from the contents. When it will ever be done, it is hard to say—but all in good time; and at present I shall content myself with picking out one paper on the Dyaks, and another on geography, both of which the dear public will praise or abuse at their pleasure. The Dyak paper is in progress, and will be information quite new, of an aboriginal people with most primitive manners and customs, and a people who have been shamefully abused by ignorant people. I have written a pretty long letter to my uncle in reply to a very kind one I received from him; and his opinion on my undertaking I value more highly than that of any other man, for he has the most reasoning and dispassionate head, and he is not apt to be carried away by his enthusiasm, even in a benevolent cause. Farewell, to-day.

What does —— mean by my not stating whether a Christian mission could come here. Do I not talk about it? Do I not urge the benefits of Christianity? the fields for missionary labour? Do I not put him in possession of the facts—the condition of the country and its inhabitants; and after all this, ought he not to be the best judge? The truth is, there are two sorts of Christian missions, the one of unmixed good, the other, somewhat dangerous. Some missionaries begin at the wrong end, by preaching Christianity, and running down Mahomedanism, or any other received belief; these show gross ignorance of human nature,

and neglect the principles of toleration—for if we abuse another's belief, we confirm him in it, and make him a bigot, and he will rather retort abuse, than hear reason. Such a mission will never succeed in any Malay country, and probably not amongst the Dyaks. The other sort of mission is the American, who live quietly, practice medicine, relieve the distressed, do not dispute or argue, and aim to educate the children. With the Dyaks, it requires a person to foster and protect them, to teach them the arts of life, to inspire confidence, become acquainted with their manners and prejudices, and above all, to educate their children. The former I have described would embroil a government where-in the native takes a share, and a large one; the latter, would be its best and most rational support—not only as a check upon the natives, but upon the Europeans. If — wants a red-hot missionary crusade, to begin by telling the natives that their religion is a lie, and their prophet an imposter—for, though this be true, it should not be told—I want none such. If he wants a mission of reasonable and educated men, who know when to speak, and when to be silent—who hold civilization and education as a means of religion, who will strive to enlarge the native mind, and to give them the outlines of our religion, its accordance with theirs in its earliest stages—to instruct the children, to benefit the adult, then the sooner they come the better. Adieu. * * * * *

No. 38.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Sarawak, November 29, 1842.

MY DEAR JACK,

I HAVE just received your kind letter of the 4th August, and one a month later from —— about our private split; I shall not trouble you on this subject beyond copying for your information part of a letter referring to the subject, which will prevent your being misled.

Enclosed in ——'s letter was the copy of a correspondence with ——, I leave this matter entirely in your hands, for I am so little acquainted with the forms of departments and the punctilios of office, that I can offer no advice; but I may say that a very slight exertion of ingenuity would bring the matter under any department. Do not apply to Lord —— again, for one refusal, though a polite one, is enough; and do not push either the —— or Lord ——, for all men dislike being bothered—and there may be difficulties we cannot see in acceding to any part of my request, which time may remove: after all this, I must leave you to act as you please, and I know you will act better than I should do myself, for, as you well know, I am a *civilized savage*, and that I have a little foolish pride, which makes me a wretched hand at asking

favours. It is satisfactory, that what has been done has been done without aid, and by means strangely disproportioned to the end ; but with very small means success has crowned me, and I do not think I can be shaken now, as long as the exchequer holds good, and the — keep their claws off me. The latter I do not dread ; and the exchequer is rather flourishing, and must improve in a year or two. Should the Government, therefore, and “ *the kind public* ” decline supporting me, I am no worse than I was, and I am just as able to carry on what I have begun, as to give it to others, who might not after all do it so well. If left to myself I cannot make it a great country, or a regular outlet for British capital, but I can devote myself to the poor people and prevent the recurrence of scenes which, for the credit of human nature, ought not to exist. I have not time *to cant* upon this subject ; but let me tell you that I mean, in case I am ruined and retire to a cottage, to find comfort and content, and pillow my head upon pleasing reflections, which would not visit me had I continued driving about Europe for pleasure. A few days ago I was up a high mountain, and looked over the country. It is a prospect I have rarely seen equalled ; and sitting there most lazily smoking a cigar, I called into existence* the coffee plantations, the nutmeg plantations, the sugar plantations, and pretty white villages, and tiny steeples, and I dreamed

* This dream is now largely realized.

that I heard the buzz of life, and the clang of industry amid the jungles, and that the *China Colins* "whistled as they went for want of thought," as they homeward bent; all this I dreamed and it might be realized easily enough, but as I have no magical means of convincing others, I must leave things to take their course.

I have finished* my paper on the Dyaks, and send it by this opportunity to Captain B——, who will forward it to you. The particulars, I think, you will find interesting and new, and to save the dull pages of description, I have tried to interweave a slight personal narrative. I may tell you that Parimban subsequently killed another Dyak, and in return I took him prisoner, with his brother, and *after a proper inquiry*,† had them both executed. The consequence has been, that the Dyaks have since been quite quiet and content. You must do as you like with this paper, either publish it or not—judge for yourself what is best. One more trouble I wish to give you, and it is, to inquire of Wise whether he has executed my order for the guns. If they are sent, well and good; but should

* This paper, although prepared for the press, was not published at the time, but all of it that referred to the Dyaks, was subsequently inserted in Captain Keppel's narrative of the "Dido's" voyage.

† This is the execution mentioned in the letter of the 12th October, 1842. See note. Copies of both these letters were in Mr. Wise's hands, under the circumstances shown in Appendix (No. 1), when the attacks on Sir James Brooke were made that he had put these men to death *without trial*.

he decline, I must have some guns, and I must have them from Mr. Wolfe, of Southampton, who is the only man that can fit guns properly. If I am left to my own resources I must have them for my own safety, for preparation prevents impudence. You must get my mother to pay for any expenses you are at on my account until I know whether Wise will undertake the agency. Oh, for a small steamer, Jack? Oh! for a fire-ship, as the natives call them, to hunt the pirates from the coast. It seems almost laughable that the English Government should boggle about giving a little steamer, which could make a most valuable survey, and do so much good. I really do not think them wise, for if you will not risk a sprat, you can never expect to catch a whale. I have very little to add, except that we flourish, and that Muda Hassim is off for Borneo in four or five months, which will give stability to the country and prevent his leeching the exchequer, which he is addicted to.

I know nothing more about the Bengal expedition to Borneo Proper, except that — writes me he is positively coming, but never comes. Farewell, to-day.

There is one more point I must mention, viz., my collections. The birds and beasts are, I conclude, at the Zoological, and to them I have presented them; but the curiosities, such as swords, spears, and the like, I know not where deposited. — wrote me for curiosities for the —, who has a museum, and if you

think it worth the trouble, and the things worth the offering, I shall be very happy to present them to him. I dislike, however the appearance of object—vulgo suck—and if it wears such a vile face, I would not present the things for the world. I am rejoiced to hear so excellent an account of your domestic felicity, and I pray it may endure during the course of a long life ; you are quite a legal enthusiast, and in this feeling I can in no way participate, for I have so little law that you might hang me ! before I knew that I had done wrong. I laughed at the idea of your converting me into a three-tailed bashaw, when in fact you are a greater grandee than myself ; you have a good house, neat furniture, and tidy servants, and would go into fits had you to bring Mrs. Templer to the menagerie I live in. Did I tell you that Elliot, of the Madras Engineers, had been staying with me for a month, making magnetic observations. I am glad to say his latitudes and longitudes verify mine—but not Mr. Murray's. You are now, Jack, seated by your Christmas fire—I wish I was with you for the month of December ; but as it is not very likely for months to come, I must close by begging you to write me very, very often—and all about family matters—Law versus Justice—all details which may appear insignificant to send all the way to Borneo, but which I like. Such details are the best part of correspondence, for I hate being upon stilts, and making fine sentences, and saying fine things.

News I cannot send you that you could interest yourself in. The principal events being the following. Muda Hassim visited the governor, being the first time in two years he has *quitted his own house*. Muda Hassim's house threatened to tumble down, but was repaired and put up right in five days. A suspicious proa, carrying seventy men, arrived at Kuchin, being armed with one gun and eight swivels, and having on board several Arab soi-disant "sheriffs." It is reported that her intention is to lay wait and seize a Lahi trading boat. The governor, it is understood, will proceed in person against her if necessary. Marriage in high life—Pangeran Bahire, of Surkassan, was united, yesterday morning, to Pangeran Surbarun, of Borneo. The happy couple after the ceremony, retired into the inner apartment, and have not been seen since—enough nonsense. Offer my kindest regards to your lady. To all at Bridport, Greenwich, Lyme, &c., offer my kindest remembrances. Tell Harry he might as well write me a long yarn. Adieu, and believe me

Your affectionate friend, .

J. BROOKE.

No. 39.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Sarawak, December 4, 1842.

MY DEAR JACK,

HERE* is the paper on the Dyaks which you must publish in a way to insure a wide circulation. Pray forward copies to —, and as many others as you feel inclined,

I am too much interrupted to do much in the way of writing, and it is irritating to write at all, for some poor wretch comes every five minutes for a “Bechara” or talk. Helped or not, I shall get on. A yearly letter will be interesting, as showing the degree of progress, and I think I shall make the effort. You must judge of all these productions, clip, alter, or burn, as you think best, I have no fatherly interest in them, save as they serve the great object of my ambition—the protection of the Dyaks.

These are times wherein ambition has no fair chance, *i. e.* private ambition. Governments, rightly enough, will not allow individuals to act, or to muster bodies for the upsetting of native states, or for the benefit of the people; but they are bound in consequence to interfere more themselves, and not to be quite dead to the claims of one unhappy race, because they are attentive to a vast extent to the claims of another. The worst of all these matters is, that the public mind requires

* The paper referred to in note, p. 233.

preparing, and a certain dose of cant must be administered by white-cravated, black-coated Exeter Hallites, and the ladies cry the first time, give sixpence the next, and the third meeting produces a blaze of enthusiasm, and half guineas. The details of business, like the details of life, are not hero-like, and in civilized life it requires art, watchfulness, flattering eloquence, and a shower of penny pamphlets, to work up the public mind to any given point. It is considerations like these, that make me think I never shall succeed, for though I devote time, and risk life, I could not fawn or guzzle, even to protect the Dyaks, it is not in my nature. Farewell.

Yours, dear Jack,

Very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

No. 40.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Singapore, March 22, 1843.

MY DEAR JACK,

I WROTE a long letter from Borneo, which is now useless—Sarawak being peaceable and flourishing. I resolved to come here for a time, and on my arrival found huge packets from Wise, and your letters up to January. I may remark, however, that September, October, and November mails came to hand after

January and February. I have written Wise at large, and can wait with patience till something is done, or till endeavours for it. As for sending out merchants and limited capital, it is folly, for I am the trader, and monopolize the staple commodity. I hope, on all future occasions, you will if possible, prevent all persons from coming out on their own adventure, or until my sanction be obtained ; for really, situated as we are, persons of this description must injure themselves, and their ignorance of the native language must be an effectual bar to their trading in a small way. What to do with or for —— when he comes, I know not, but I will do what I can ; people in England fancy that there is a large trade, they do not bear in mind that it is a trade which is to be fostered and developed gradually, and in such a process, a small capital can do nothing. Wise is annoyed with you, for keeping back my instructions, but I do not know how you could have acted better than complying with the wishes of my relatives. I have, however, explained, and I trust you will act with Wise for the advancement (I will not say of my interest) but that of Sarawak. It is most miserable to have few friends, and those friends crossing each other. Wise seems to think that no higher objects or interests existed than his agency. —— and —— have behaved in the most liberal manner ; and have, so far from desiring the paltry agency that from the first (when they undertook the business *at my request*) they allowed me full liberty to act in the way I thought

most likely to promote a good cause. I know well, dear Jack, that you will lay aside personal feeling, and act for this cause, and that you will not make any arrangements at home without their having been submitted to me previously. You may rest assured I shall in no way part with a tittle of power, until I see clearly the following points arranged. 1st. The benefit and security of the people. 2nd. Provision for the government. 3rd. Right-minded persons to succeed me. 4th. Some provision or employment for those who have followed my fortunes.

The sum of what I have said to Wise, is as follows : Get Government recognition, and form a company with a capital of from 300,000*l.* to 500,000*l.* Let them have plantations, diamond mines, &c., and a monopoly of antimony and opium, to help their expenditure till the country yields a revenue. Such a capital is sufficient to make a country ; the expences need not be large. Having stated all this to Wise, my friends ought now to make a push and see whether anything is to be done or not, because I have other strings to my bow, which failing my native country, I shall certainly use. What follows, you must use with discretion. *Other nations* are most desirous to form settlements in the Archipelago, and from what has been said to me by their officials, I doubt not they would accept Sarawak ; and my influence in Borneo would give them a dominant sway over that kingdom, which wisely employed would lead to fortune. My object is to secure to the

natives a permanent good, beyond the chances of my life. Of course, in the first place, I apply to the British Government; to the merchants; to the religious societies: if all are deaf or indifferent, it is then I propose applying to others more willing, and likewise able, to carry my views into effect. I say not this by way of threat or from any feeling of annoyance or mortified vanity, but as an alternative which it will be my duty to adopt, and which cannot, after they have declined, affect the interests of my countrymen.

Sarawak I left getting on. McKenzie has been very ill and goes home, but will rejoin me; I shall tell him to call on you. Wise will give him money enough to live upon. The rest all well. I return in about a fortnight, in the "Dido" man-of-war, and her captain (Keppel) is most anxious to give me every assistance in his power. It will have a great effect on the natives and establish my power, more especially if he attacks that piratical horde the "Serebas Dyaks." She is a beautiful 18 (32-pounders)—a clipper.

Farewell, dear Jack, do what you can for me, and above all,

Believe me,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 41.

THE REV. C. JOHNSON.

Singapore, 11th April, 1843.

MY DEAR CHARLES,

I COULD not find time to reply to your kind letters of September and November, and Emma's of December by the last mail, for I was pressed with a quantity of matters; but now my business here being completed, and "Royalist" having returned to Sarawak, I have time to thank you for your excellent correspondence.

I have been greatly disappointed at not having a line either from —— or Charlie; and when I arrived in Singapore I had buoyed myself up with the fond hope that the "Wolverine" would be laying amongst the other shipping. I hear that it is likely that the "Wanderer" will be sent here and not the "Wolverine," and that —— will in that case try to exchange with Captain ——, as the "Wanderer's" time is nearly up. Should this exchange be effected, of course Charlie will move with his uncle. Tell Emma not to be fidgetty about Charlie, or to fancy that his uncle being in the vessel makes one bit of difference. There is rightly no relationship aboard ship; and Charlie seems to have found this out so completely, that he, in writing, always says, "The Captain did so and so, or said so and so." The navy is a fine school for a boy; it makes him manly and independent. Dear Fred, I

have not a doubt but he would like to follow Charlie. They have a very good story aboard the —, which occurred the other day. Lady — and Sir — were dining aboard, and brought their son, a youth of eleven and home educated, to see the vessel. The young gentleman was asked into the midshipman's berth, and heard them all exclaim, "Here we are, poor fellows, miserable for life!" Young — was greatly shocked at this, and, returning to his mother, said, "Only think, mamma, they are all miserable for life; and no wonder, for they live in a terrible place!" The midshipmen are, nevertheless, a merry race.

13th April, 1843.—I wrote thus far, and meant to have written much more, when the February mail arrived, bringing, amongst others, your two letters of January 8th and February 5th; the latter full of questions, which I propose answering when I have time. Of course I am pleased to learn that the Government have resolved to inquire fully, because it will, after a year, make my position *certain*; and in case they decline to have anything to say to us, I shall feel myself quite at liberty to act in the way which appears to me best to insure the security of the natives. I mark what you say about money. I wish I *was very rich* (although I know that riches would not add very greatly to my happiness); but I do not know how to manage it. My disposition is not acquisitive; my feelings lead me to lavish money; my personal enjoyment in fine balls, fine dinners, fine clothes, or fine

society is nothing ; yet for all this I should like to be rich ! On the other hand, when I reflect on the blessings I may be enabled to confer on an oppressed race, the mere personal struggle for wealth or quietness appears rather mean, and seems like betraying a higher and more sacred trust. Money ! money ! Mountain upon mountain ! Alps upon Alps ! all men are grabbing and clawing the dirty pelf ; never happy, never content ; always crying out, " More, more," until their hands and their hearts get plated over, and the pollution of lucre takes possession of them. It is the devil's own go-cart, with four or five other pet vices as lackeys hanging on behind. If I have clean hands, and people call me fool, shall I not have a clean mind ? shall I not have a quiet conscience ? shall I not live at Axmouth, far from the bustle of the world ? shall I not delight in the society of my family and friends ? shall I not be the best of old bachelors ? I cannot preach any more ; but you are very welcome to all this for your next sermon against the love of lucre. As you all complain of the total want of information, I must answer your long list of curious and searching questions. Many are already answered in the " Paper on the Dyaks," which will have been published ere this reaches you ; the others, of a more domestic nature, amuse me very much, as showing your ideas of one of the wildest and least educated people on the globe. I feel even here how great a loss Johnny must have been to your family circle when he left it for Malta. I de-

light in reading the tableaux you send in your letter—fire-side—frozen oil—cheese toasted—butter. How I wish I could be there ; and amid all these pending events, the chances may be that I shall be enabled once more to embrace you all. Many, many loves to all the dear girls and boys ; and believe me, my dearest Charles and dearest Emma,

Your affectionate brother,

J. BROOKE.

CHAPTER VIII.

APRIL 13, 1843, TO JULY 21, 1843.

No. 42.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Singapore, April 13, 1843.

MY DEAR JACK,

ONLY yesterday I received your kind and long letter with the enclosure from Captain —, and the contents, as you may believe, pleased me not a little. I am pleased, because, at best, I may obtain what I desire, and, at the worst, we shall arrive at a certainty. My path is quite clear, and I shall lay on my oars till Sir — — arrives; give him every information I can, and every facility for gaining information from the natives; allow him to inspect as much of the country as he desires, and leave the rest to his report. Sir — — is, I know, of undoubted talents, and no one could be more properly appointed to take

a survey of the country and report on its capabilities, but he is necessarily ignorant of the political and moral condition of the natives, and this cannot be acquired without a knowledge of the language, and a longer time than he can devote to the study. I need say no more, as we are as yet ignorant of the instructions given by the Admiralty, or the intentions or wishes of the Government. You ask me to write fully, and so I certainly would, if I exactly knew what to write about. I suppose, however, it is about my present position. I have no reason to alter, or retract much of what I said in my printed letter ; the country is a fine one—the government I have given them, has encouraged labour, protected the weak, and punished the strong evil doer. During two years sway, I have only put five men to death—three for piracy on the high sea, caught red-handed, and two for resistance to the government. For the last year we have had scarce a case of serious crime, and I may say that justice (*good substantial justice, without law*) has been administered. I am good friends with Borneo, and through my agency, the Borneo rajahs have been reconciled, or pretend so to be. The Dyak population is my “pride and delight,” and for the last eighteen months I have only lost one of them, killed by the piratical Dyaks. In short, without and within, I feel myself, and am, secure, and if you will pardon the boast, if there was no European government that kept me in check, I would establish a primitive but a good government over the entire coast, and

under the wing of one or two of the native princes, raise myself to substantial power, and I do not think I should use it badly. However, this is but an empty boast. Now, if you please, let us speculate a little on what is likely to be. Sir ——— arrives at Sarawak, reports favourably, the government takes the place and get a title, which there is no doubt they can get. Perhaps they will make me governor, perhaps nay—perhaps they will repay my outlay, perhaps nay. They will most certainly employ those gentlemen who have faithfully followed me or reward them; they will pay the three native chiefs whom I now pay. With this arrangement I should be quite content, for it would ensure security to the people of Sarawak, and a hope of its extension along the coast. Now being content, I look upon as being generous, for to attain this grand object I give up my position and power and the chance of a fortune. By holding the monopoly of antimony ore, I clear about 5,000*l.* or 6,000*l.* a-year, and this revenue clears my current expenses. Besides this, the Chinese have got gold, and have paid me 500*l.* in *the dust* already, and as this gold is procured, the Chinese population increases, the country flourishes, and as the country improves it will be quiet, and I shall reduce rather than increase my establishment. Permanency, however, is preferable to all these chances and considerations, and I am no huckster to drive a bargain for *£. s. d.* I know no greater advantage accruing from a retirement from the world, than the absence of

that attraction which "fires ourselves and breaks others backs." If matters go as I have stated, all will be well, and I shall have a fair chance of returning home. If otherwise—if the Government decline to interest themselves—I shall be none the worse, and shall work the field and feel myself at liberty to take any measures I may think best, for the good of the people. Certainty to me is worth five years of life, and I hope in the course of a year we shall arrive at that. If it be as I wish, I shall rest under the shadow of the British Government; otherwise, I shall have the pleasure of plucking up my energies, and developing the country as I can. I wait the result without uneasiness. Wise has certainly acted with decision, and has attained his object of attracting the attention of Government, but I trust he has not committed me by garbling or high colouring my statements. I have no object, in daubing with a sign-painter's brush. I fear it, because he has evidently made me responsible for the coal in Borneo Proper, which I know nothing about, beyond its bare existence, and because he has so evidently misconstrued my meaning and expressions about commerce, This annoys me, because I thought I had been guarded enough to prevent any rash commercial speculation. I wrote of the wretched condition of the country, the advantages of developing its resources by means of the immigration of the Chinese and Japanese. I dwelt on the rapacity of the chiefs, the misery of the lower classes, the curse which trade (so called) was to the

mass of the people. I expressed myself obliged to support the inevitable expense by trade, which would include the monopoly of the antimony ore, and I expressed myself willing to surrender my claims to any person who had better means than myself, to effect the objects I aimed at. Now in the face of all this (you can read it again), in spite of my own words, contrary to all good judgment, Wise and his associates declare that *I shall open* the trade in antimony ore, and they *vote me* an export duty on that and other articles! In short, under the guise of accepting my invitation to carry out my views, they make a mere commercial speculation, and in the progress of which the resources of the country which are now expended every farthing in its right government, they quietly appropriate to themselves. I have endeavoured to check this mad career—mad in every sense of the word, but if they really have been so precipitate as to enter on it without previously notifying it to me, they may break their own heads their own way. It is so mad because a moment's reflection would prove to any man, that at a place within four hundred miles of Singapore, no good or *certain* trade could exist without the merchants of Singapore availing themselves of it, and any man at all acquainted with native character and native trade, must know that the gathering of produce is so slow, as not to repay the expenses of the vessel employed, and that amongst the native rajahs, the merchant is very apt to incur bad debts, and that it is as diffi-

cult to refuse them credit, as get repayment. Then Wise assumes that all my affairs are to be in his hands, and in the hands of the house he talks of establishing at Sarawak! and, in short, I know not, and, probably, he hardly knows himself, what he would be at, but one thing is certain, that he will not find me quite as pliable as wax; and, secondly, that any parties who want to deal with the natives must have good easy tempers. With the Government, Wise has however been successful, and I am bound to be obliged to him. I believe he wishes me well, and to make money himself. I buy therefore his motives at the market price. You must not forget that all this responsibility has been assumed by my requesting him to become my agent, for such income as I had in England. His conduct to you has not been good or polite, and you are well aware that any statements I receive are as idle wind, and that you need not take the trouble to explain the circumstances. I have mentioned to Wise that I consider your detention of the note the act of my relatives, and, in fact, that you had, and have, a completely discretionary power over my affairs. I see from the tone of your letter that you do not much care about Wise's wrath, but if you resent his conduct, I shall certainly cease all further communication with him. I think, however, for the *public service*, that forbearance is best, and that Wise may be useful to the good cause.

14th April, 1843.—I was much obliged by the hint

from —, and it only shows the affairs of this world ought just as well be decided by pitch-farthing as not, for if a prepared man is sent to inquire, what chance is there of a candid report, the case being already decided? If — rides the high horse with me, or I see a strong prejudice, I shall refuse to communicate with him at all, and if the Government want to make it a matter of high favour, or take a tone which displeases me, I shall do the same by them, for I am so situated that I am not the slave of the *gentle public*, and certainly not the slave of the *gentle public's slaves*, *i. e.*, the Government. No, I am *Quixote* enough to labour, and even to sacrifice a little money, but I will not stoop to bend or cant, and as I do not want to make a job, so I shall not be proceeded with as though I did. I could now write —'s report to the Admiralty, and if my existence depended on that report, it would, I fear, hang by a frail thread. I have said before, I await without uneasiness, and with a perfect independence, for most assuredly, I do not look upon myself either as the favoured or the supplicant party in this. Do not conceal these my sentiments from Captain Beaufort, or Washington, or Lord Haddington, or any other person it may concern. I have no news to tell you except that I am impatiently waiting for the sailing of the "Dido," as Captain Keppel, though a stranger, is a very pleasing person. I anticipate a happy excursion with him to Sarawak, and perhaps afterwards along the coast. I had a letter from Sarawak yester-

day (which keeps me easy), saying that they were all well and happy, and the rice crop being garnered, all hands have abundance of food. I am sorry to be away now, for at the time of harvest home, the Dyaks hold high festival, which I wanted particularly to see. Fancy a carouse with the wild Dyaks.

I have written to Jem, but as yet have got no answer. Matters in New South Wales appear to be in a sad condition from a rotten system of credit, which is only another word for a system of swindling. Edward Stonehouse, whom you may remember as a shipmate of your brother's, will, I think, likely enough join me, that is if he can find nothing better to do. I had a letter from — complaining of hard times, and the pressure of a young and rising family. My accounts from home were delightful—my mother in good health and spirits, and all busy in making a box of fancy fair articles for the Dyaks. It is quite refreshing to me to read their hopes and fears, and I verily believe they live more profoundly retired in the centre of England than I do in Borneo. I was quite disappointed that my Charlie, the midshipman, was not here when I arrived, for I have quite a yearning to see him, as he was always an especial favourite of mine. — wants and is trying hard to get down here, but I fear will not succeed. I rejoiced that your family circle were so well and so happy, and it is really a pleasure to know that there are a few who take interest in the affairs of one living beyond the confines of civilization.

You would have been amused to read an entire sheet of questions sent from Lackington, the answers of which are requested—each member of the family asks something. “Do you lie down in your bed at night in security?” “Have you any good shooting?” “Do you get venison?” “What are the Dyak articles of faith?” “Should I be useful as a school-mistress of the Dyak children?” “Do you think I could lick any Dyak boy of my age with my left hand?” These are very characteristic, and I was busy two hours yesterday in answering them. I forgot to say that yesterday arrived the Britomart man-of-war, Captain Stanley; she is to be sold here—you may remember she was employed in forming Port Essington, and Earl, I believe, went out in her. He speaks very poorly of Port Essington, no inland sea, no trade, no Bugis, natives shy; in short, a mere port which people do not visit, and useless as a harbour of refuge. I wrote you, I think, about McKenzie, who has gone home sick in the “John Knox,” and carries with him a letter to Wise. I told him to see you, and you may get a good deal of information from him, for he has been with me all the time, and is an intelligent fellow. Peter is a great character, and has the complete knack of managing the natives, who are all fond of him. It would not be wise to have his brother out yet, but you may tell his father if I have an opportunity of serving the lad, I will. Warn him at the same time not to listen to foolish stories about making

money in a hurry. Peter has his 3*l*. a month and nothing else. Really the mania for an El Dorado is so universal that I should not be astonished if such a place was discovered—a mountain of gold with nothing wanting but pickaxes—or some other such vulgar heaven upon earth. Everything distant seems to attract the imagination; distance lends enchantment to the view—distance of time softens down the crimes and errors of the dead—and Hope, herself, is but reality at a distance. In short, distance is a great and undiscovered principle!

I have no space for any more gentle cant or gentle sentiment. I am writing in haste. Offer my regards to Mrs. Templer, and all your family circle. I should be very glad to hear from Harry, for his letters give me a complete picture of persons and things at Bridport. Farewell.

Yours, &c.

J. BROOKE.

P.S. You did not enclose a letter for Peter. Ruppel daily expected, and the vessel ought to have been here before.

I do not think I ever mentioned to you the death of Mrs. Page and her little girl, born during the Borneo captivity; there is a report that Captain Page is likewise dead on his passage home. The two Portuguese, Mr. and Miss ——, through whose intrigues much of the mischief arose, are both confined in a mad-house.

The chief mate, Mr. Gill, called on me a short time since, and it was flattering to hear that he attributes their safety entirely to my being at Sarawak. Did I tell you, likewise, that on my return from Borneo, I brought twenty-two shipwrecked native seamen, who would otherwise have been consigned to hopeless slavery.* I forgot to mention that I proposed to Wise to sound whether a *public company* could not be formed, and that in his letter of the 6th February, he, without receiving my letter, proposes the same thing. By this opportunity I write him to proceed, but cautiously, and not to act now, without keeping the Government informed of his motions. This letter ought to reach you very soon, as yours of February was received in April and answered as you see. By the commencement of June you should get this. I have no time for more—the vessel sails at four o'clock, it is now three. I have just heard from my friend Robertson, who has proceeded home in the “Victoria” steamer from Bombay.

Yours, dear Jack,

J. BROOKE.

* This passage refers to the shipwrecked crew of the “Sultana,” who were detained in Brunei by the sultan until released by Sir James Brooke’s efforts

No. 43.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

June, 1843.

MY DEAR JACK,

THIS cannot be a long letter, because only this morning the "Dido" anchored off the mouth of the Sarawak river, and waits but for the arrival of her captain to proceed to Singapore and China. We have been nearly three weeks away in her boats, beating up the quarters of the Serebas pirates—the head-quarters of Dyak piracy; and we have penetrated a hundred miles up the river, and given them a lesson which will stop their piracy for some time to come. Keppel and myself had made out the most interesting programme for our future proceedings, when an unfortunate order arrived from Sir W. Parker, ordering the "Dido" back to China. Orders must be obeyed, though really it is the most provoking *contre temps*.

I had just got so well acquainted with Captain Keppel and his officers, and liked some of them so well, that I quite grieve at their departure, and care nothing for the promise of another man-of-war.

I mean to ask you, and all my other friends, Jack, to get one of my "Dido's" midshipmen promoted to lieutenant when he has passed his examination. He is pretty certain of not waiting long, but a little interest—a very little interest at the Admiralty, will give him

the step when he is qualified. My friend's name is —. He served in the Syrian campaign, and the China war. His gallantry has been honourably mentioned in the Gazette, and he has already gained two medals. I should be very willing to take much trouble, for I am interested in him, and like him much, and we have been fighting together, and I have been three weeks cramped up in his second cutter, all of which adds to my interest. Bear this in mind, Jack, my dear fellow, till this time eight months, and I dare say — will do as much for me as this. I really have nothing to tell you, but of cruising and fighting. Now, the piping times of peace have arrived, and I shall turn my attention to the internal administration. The influence gained by the attack on Serebas is immense, and one of the first consequences I expect from it is the delivery of the poor Dyak women and children you know about. I like this bustling life, and I dread the first return to solitude. Wise is driving his coach very fast, but if he does not take care he will capsize it. It is so very foolish to be so sanguine, that a delay of three months to receive advices from me is considered unnecessary, that I do not trouble myself about the result. I really am half afraid that he has, or will be, making statements at variance with fact. There is a mode of cant, or colouring which is much resorted to in the present day, but which I abhor. Do you know, what has already passed has made me savage. It shews *so nakedly* the object which these

gentlemen have in view, and it shows that the *modus operandi* is none of the most candid or delicate. It makes me sick and savage, and the consolation that I have is that I shall run rusty and thwart them. Farewell ; I write in haste. This evening I go to Kuchin, and return to-morrow.

Yours, with best wishes ever,

J. BROOKE.

No. 44.

JOHN HARVEY, Esq.*

Sarawak, July 12, 1843.

MY DEAR HARVEY,

I WAS surprised and most pleased by the receipt of your kind letter just as I was starting in company with the boats of H. M. S. "Dido" to the attack of a piratical horde. I had no time then to answer, and no opportunity since to forward a letter to Singapore.

I had heard from Templer that you were settled in life by marriage, and I was glad to learn it was so, for a professed wanderer from youth upwards, like myself, appreciates the quiet home.

My position is becoming quite dramatic, and really it appears to me that I am playing the rôle of the fool in the play, rather than the hero. I publish what I consider a cool and moderate letter, detailing the

* Of Ickwellbury, Beds.

sufferings of the natives, the ruin of the country from every act of bad government that ever was dreamed of, by ignorant and rapacious rulers. I speak very highly of the soil, the productions, and the general capabilities of the country ; and point out the means, on the most limited scale, of developing the resources. Jack Templer understood all this,—but a little while after, came a clatter of the vast resources, the vast advantages, the vast outlet for capital which Borneo presented, and everybody chose and chooses to conclude, that the advantages are immediate, that a rude country, in a day or two is to become cultivated, that the earth is to pour her treasures into the capacious holds of our shipping, and that the wild Dyaks are to be civilized, and that the lazy Malays will labour. All this sounds to me like the getting up of a *bubble*, and were I so inclined, I might gull the gentle public to their heart's content. I am not, however, inclined. The worst does not end here. Representations have been made to the Government, of which I know but little, and perhaps the incipient mania has been infused into the mind of the Premier, so as to lead him to entertain exaggerated hopes. If it be as I surmise and fear, and that I am forced to give a plain-sense view of the question, the cry will arise of the country of Sarawak being a barren desert, without one recommendation ! They swear and rave first about this antimonial El Dorado, and when they are told the surprising truth, that to work mines or cultivate the

land, to encourage emigration, requires capital and time, and involves some risk—that trade has to be fostered—agriculture encouraged—that good government slowly but surely wins the confidence of an oppressed people,—when they are told all these amazing and unheard of truths, they turn up their noses and say the country is only like other countries. One thing is clear, that a country like China, with a vast population, an industrious people, and developed resources, must employ British capital *immediately* the treaty is concluded, I hope, that great commercial country will be enabled to take off our hands half that will be sent out to them by our madly industrious manufacturers; but, on the contrary, a country like Borneo, wild with a wild population, must be developed before it can be of avail, and British capital must be expended on it before it becomes of avail. I have the highest opinion of the natural capabilities of the island, but that in its present state it can return anything for the outpouring of British capital, is ridiculous to think upon. Singapore, when the British flag was hoisted, was a desert swamp, and in a year or two after, became a place of considerable trade. Here the trade might not be so large, yet there are the natural products and the fertility of the soil to depend upon, and (which has always been recommended by some of our ablest men acquainted with the Straits), the capabilities of territorial extension. I am afraid I tire you with this subject, but you see I do not take quite so sanguine a

view as my friends at home ; but I may add that as I began without expecting much, that I shall not be disappointed if the Government declines giving me a helping hand.

I wish I could give you an idea of the wild fun we had on our attack of the piratical tribe of Serebas, or the pleasure it gave me to be able to associate once more with civilized men aboard the "Dido." Keppel, her captain, is an excellent fellow, and a great friend of mine, and by his measures on this coast has done much to strike at the root of piracy. The misfortune is, just as we had got well acquainted, and that I had come to like and make friends with the officers, that an untoward order came, recalling Keppel to China. We suited each other admirably, and really vied with each other in the abolition of humbug. We dined without jackets—waistcoats were unknown, and at last, in the back excursion, Horton, her first lieutenant, pronounced that stockings and socks were vanities! I wish to heaven, my dear Harvey, that instead of going amongst the wild Arabs, you had carried into effect the plan you entertained of coming here. I am sure you would have been so enamoured of the life we lead, that you would not have returned for a year at least. The easy, happy-go-lucky style of living, the occasional excitement and skirmishes with pirates, our excursions in the interior, with the beautiful scenery and novelty, and all this in a climate which, to my feelings, is the most delightful in the world. "A pleasing land of drowsy

head it is." As for your plantations, I wish I could transport hence some thousands of our forest timber to decorate your lands, we should be delighted to get rid of them. I am meditating a grove of cocoa-nuts,—cocoa-nuts in preference to anything else, because they require no superintendence after a year, which suits a careless person like myself. I am delighted to hear so good an account of Jack Templer's fortunes, and with a fair start, he will doubtless rise to distinction and wealth. He is, as you say, the happiest of the happy. Nature has bestowed on him a plentiful allowance of good spirits and a good constitution, and he has never drained the one or the other by false excitement. Sir James Gordon had not been appointed to Greenwich before I left home. I am glad to learn you keep up the acquaintance of your college friends. I trust some day or another we shall meet again, and that I shall have the pleasure of killing your pheasants, or what will suit me as well, lounging before an especial good fire on a cold day. News, you can expect none from me. Politics interest me not, being too far removed from the centre of commotion, but even so far off, I cannot help deploring the signs of distress, beyond, I fear, the power of talking or legislating, to remove. "Royalist" you would not know again, being the worse for wear, and looking anything but the gay yacht she used to be. You must give my kind regards to any old friends you meet; I mention not Jack, as I shall write to him by this mail. What better can he or you do than to hire or build an aerial machine, and with

your ladies, make a six weeks' flight to Borneo and back ; it would sound well in print. My news is exhausted, and I am verging on the confines of nonsense, so my dear Harvey, with every kind wish for your happiness and prosperity,

Believe me most sincerely yours,

J. BROOKE.

No. 45.

MRS. BROOKE.

Sarawak, July 19, 1843.

MY LOVED MOTHER,

How surprised you must be that I am always in a hurry, but such is the fact. My last letter was written in haste because we had the "Dido," and on the present occasion I delayed writing as we were going to Borneo Proper in H. M. S. "Samarang," commanded by Captain Sir — —. The "Samarang" came upon us rather suddenly, but I thought I should have plenty of time to write ; but, as ill-luck would have it, in going down the river she grounded close to my house, on a rock, and, falling over with the ebb tide, filled. Sir — — and his officers (some at least) think they can save the vessel ; but it will be a tedious task, and in the meantime I have two hundred men to entertain. On this account the "Royalist" is hurried away to Singapore for provisions and for aid. To me the provisions are a matter of indifference, but an English crew must

have their appetites satisfied or they will not work ; and beef, bread, pork, with other et ceteras, are as the breath of their nostrils, which rice cannot offer an equivalent for. * * * * On public points with — I am candid to an extreme. I will not, for any foolish distinction, compromise my honesty or my independence ; for I feel and know that I am in a situation which shall stamp me as a man of worth, or as a mere adventurer after gain. God forbid I should seek the latter character ; and, dearest mother, I know you would rather embrace me the same single-minded child, boy, man, you have ever known me, than the hacknied slave who aims at worldly wealth and worldly pelf. Let events progress ; but I am firmly assured that if I fail in one case I shall possess in poverty my self-esteem, and if I succeed in the other, I should, with a keen sensibility, feel a sense of degradation for which no wealth, no honours, and no worldly distinction could repay me. I write in a hurry, yet I cannot help telling you all I feel. I have no sanguine hopes, and you may all be assured that wealth will never be the upshot of my enterprise. Is wealth so valuable ? hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands are but the elysium of worldliness ; and you, my dearest mother, who know me so well, must know that I covet not these things. Action—a sphere for my abilities—I have coveted. I have made one, spite of no ordinary obstacles ; but once made, I aim at no results. I go straight forward on my path, and let others judge.

Now my say is said, and my paper finished ; but I must mention that a youngster, by name Brereton, a nephew of the Bishop of Calcutta's, and a grandson of Joseph Wilson's, (only thirteen years of age,) is in the "Samarang." He is a delicate and gentlemanly boy, and his age is tender ; and when I think of our Charlie I cannot help my heart expanding towards him. If you will recall my folly and jokes you will understand why I am inclined to be very kind ; and really, already I like him for his own sake. Poor fellow ! so young, and not belonging to the ship, and very delicate ; in the upset of the "Samarang" he has lost his whole wardrobe. To-morrow I mean to make him write to his mamma. Could I do less ? knowing how you would feel (even old gentleman as I am) were you to hear that my vessel was sunken on the most innocent rock. Farewell, dearest mother. I have written to Anthony business-like, but have only to add a thousand loves to you all ; and let me give you one advice, which is, whatever you hear, and whatever is told you, do not be sanguine (proud you may be of me) as to any personal advantages which may accrue to myself. I am the sole judge of my situation and prospects. Above all, never doubt Templer, for he is my friend ; and a friend is worth a dozen agents. Farewell, dearest mother. Believe me,

Your affectionate and attached son,

J. BROOKE.

No. 46.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Sarawak, July 20, 1843.

MY DEAR JACK,

I BEGAN a letter some days ago, but Sir ———'s arrival rendered it useless to continue it; and since his advent, events have crowded so quickly one upon another, that I have had no time to write. Now I am obliged to do so in haste, and therefore must do so less fully, than I intended.

Sir ——— saw as much of the country as he wished, and every information I could give, I gave freely, and on some points have shown him the *unfavourable* side of the question, as I mean to show you presently; for I am uneasy about too much being expected from a wild and undeveloped country. Of course Sir ——— said very little to me, but I could gather enough to feel certain, that his report will be generally favourable. He requested me to put my opinions on paper, and likewise to accompany him to Borneo Proper, to inspect the coal, &c. &c. I should have been most happy had our intentions been carried into effect, but the "Samarang" unfortunately grounded just below my house, at the top of high water, and with the ebb fell over and filled. Sir ——— and his officers are sanguine of getting the ship to rights again, but it will be a tedious job, and much property will be lost or injured, and the scientific objects of the voyage re-

tarded. This untoward event will not affect me, as Sir —— and myself had previously agreed, that in case of any protection being afforded by Government, the town should be at the mouth of the river. The “Royalist” sails to-morrow for provisions, and perhaps aid; and within and without, it is a scene of vast confusion. Babel was nothing to it. This causes the great haste, for it is really needful to *kick* the “Royalist” to Singapore and back with all possible speed, as the provisions are short, and some may be found damaged. As I before told you, Sir —— requested me to put my views on paper: this is difficult, because I know so little of the views of others, or their intentions; but, of course, the details will come afterwards. I have not yet written to Sir ——, and there will be time enough now; but when I do write I shall say or sing to the following purport, only in a more *stultified style*:—That the Borneo rajahs are easy to manage, but that these same rajahs will never agree amongst themselves, and that one party or the other will be sure to break faith by some overt act against us, merely to spite his neighbour; that a mob of high-born rascals, and their slaves the scum of earth, are not to be managed, until convinced that they dare not do wrong. We must have some recognized head to govern Borneo, and we must support him to a certain extent, for the government now is but a shadow—a name,—or worse, a malicious brownie. This responsible head is, or ought to

be, Muda Hassim, because he is well inclined, moderately honest, and has a clever younger brother, Budrudeen, who is fitted by nature to govern, and will go the entire hog with us. He is a very clever fellow for a native, and far more clever than many better educated and more experienced Europeans. The sultan, so called, has no wits, is influenced by every paltry vagabond about him, and is ignorant of Europeans. Pangeran Usop, in his heart, is opposed to Europeans, and has no title from birth, to rule the state. Mind, I am not recommending a violent change, but merely that British countenance should place Muda Hassim in a situation to become the virtual ruler of the state.

On the next point, dear Jack, I wish to be serious, as it in some measure affects me ; or, at any rate, I shall be held responsible, right or wrong. I know not what statements have been made ; I know not what expectations are raised, but it does appear to me, judging from Mr. Wise's letters, and the steps he has taken, that some exaggerated hopes are entertained, and hopes as unreasonable, as exaggerated. As far as concerns Wise, this signifies not ; for, being in communication with me, he must bear the consequence of measures taken, without my consent or approval ; but I would not on any account have this mania spread, nor do I desire that the truth should in any way be concealed or heightened. In fact, Jack, I will become no party to a bubble ; or gain, or accept any negotiation

from Government upon false grounds. Of course I am totally ignorant of the statements which have been made to Sir Robert Peel, or how far the steps now in progress, may have been based on these very statements; but I perceive that an *immediate* and *considerable* opening for British commerce, is expected. My own opinion of the capabilities of the country remains unchanged. I believe it a very fine, and naturally a *very rich country*, but (as I represented it in the printed letter,) torn by civil war, uncultivated from bad governments, with a scanty and wild population, what is it to produce? or rather, how is the produce reasonably to be expected to pour itself into the lap of the first merchant, who, sitting snug in some dusty den in the city, fancies that the course of trade runs as smooth in Borneo, as in London, and that by only sending a vessel, he can command a return cargo in a country where the numbers of inhabitants are not sufficient to gather him a cargo till the expenses of delay have swallowed up all the profits of price? He fancies that if he can only gain the start of his compatriots, (forgetting that they be as cunningly silly as himself), he shall gain Heaven knows how much per cent., but he never calculates that in a rude and ill-governed country, the mass of the people are afraid to barter for his goods, that the chiefs have profits of their own to guard—native traders, jealous of his advent—a rude and simple people, who barter in a most fanciful and paltry manner. He forgets all this, and being out of pocket,

by his own folly, abuses the country and its inhabitants. All experience is set at nought. The Indian free trade—the opening of the South American markets—the tea market—all injured the silly dealers, who glutted the markets with British produce. China, provided the treaty be satisfactorily concluded, will follow the same rule. Vast as that country is, with developed resources and a fixed system of trade, yet will our madly industrious manufacturers, over-export to injure themselves and benefit the Chinese. What must it be, when the same game is to be played in Borneo? Bah! it makes me savage. Let me tell you too, that to attract to Sarawak, the trade which goes already to Singapore, is only robbing Peter, to pay Paul. The object is to give confidence to the natives to reach, the produce of the country, which now, never comes to market—to civilize the Dyak, and make him in time a trader. How very slow is this process—how it requires patience and time—and how in my hands it may fail altogether, I need say no more; for with the heads, you can puzzle out the argument. I have not patience to detail, and you can protect me from misconception, on this point. If the meteor flag of England waves, the progress of civilization will be quicker, but not quick; and to expect any immediate advantage, is a delusion. Oh the green and greasy public, Jack, how I should like to gull them to their heart's content, if one could only do so, without hurting them; and would it not be worth while to mys-

tify them, only to see their common-place green eyes, after believing all, beginning to doubt and open.

Some few, new and unheard-of truths, ought to be impressed on the gentle public; the first is that to work mines, to cultivate land, to civilize wild tribes, to encourage immigration, requires time and capital, and involves some risk. Secondly, that when they play such a game, they ought to be gifted with patience, and not grumble if the chances go against them individually. Thirdly, That good government slowly, but surely, wins the confidence of oppressed people, but that the evils of bad government do not cease with the bad government itself; for governments impress their characteristic stamp on the people, and a distrustful dog snaps or slinks away, long after he is blessed with a kind master. Let them ponder these truths, new and unheard-of though they be, instead of turning up their noses. I am tired of these politics for the present, and must turn to your letter. The Dyak paper I am happy you approve of, and I hope it will appear in the Quarterly. You need say nothing about altering; I am not jealous, and no author; so, if you clip and cut I care not. I will desire—to forward you a Singapore paper, where you will read a brief paper on Keppel's proceedings, and some general thoughts on piracy. Really, the good done with little effort, and little loss on either side, is beyond calculation. I should like to play the same game with others.

I can say no more, for time presses, and I have

several letters yet to write. May every happiness attend thee, dear Jack ; so farewell. Do not forget about young ——, if it come in your way before the regular time. In the “Samarang” I found a young distant connection, named Brereton, only thirteen years of age, a nice intelligent boy ; he has lost everything he had in the ship, except a few pair of trowsers. My kind regards to your lady, and believe me ever

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 47.

THE REV. CHARLES JOHNSON.

Sarawak. July 12 to 21, 1843.

MY DEAR CHARLES,

YOUR letters of February and March afforded me much pleasure, and although you choose to imagine me, grumbling at the number of your letters, I did not cease to bless you for being a good correspondent. Events crowd so thick upon us, that I find it difficult to keep you fully apprized of all that occurs, and you give me occasion for a long explanation, in order to set you right, on many important points. You are, as I have told you all along, over sanguine, and Wise seems to be misleading you entirely, and to be as sanguine, as yourself. To begin however with your letter,

you advise me to get Sarawak ceded in perpetuity,—to make money,—to take care of myself, not to let others reap what I have sown—in short, to be wise, prudent, and knowing. This is all excellent advice, but you forget that the leopard changes not his spots, and that much of your counsel is opposed to my character. Yet I do not say that I will neglect the advice, or that I will not make money, if the chance comes in my way, but I do not value money except as a means. To tell you candidly, I think I am much altered—I do not value money or wish for it—I do not value rank, or desire it, and in my retirement, with the consciousness that I am doing good, I want but little that the world can give, and feel sure in the struggle after wealth or rank, there is more misery than poverty itself can inflict. Do not fancy me over philosophical ; but do not endeavour for, or ask any honours for me. I want them not ; and although I would, a year ago, have sought to be made a knight, because it would have been useful, yet now being useful no more, I do not care about it, and would rather *not* be tapped on the shoulder. Another thing surprises me, which is, your talking of my being made Consul. If being made Consul, or called Consul will do any good, I will not refuse it ; but I do not like swallowing this pill, for I should not like to be less, than I am, though I care not much about being greater.

Wise's conduct has surprised me more, than I can express ; doubtless he means everything for the best,

and doubtless, he is very zealous to promote my views rather than his own, but how in the very teeth of my printed letter, he should fancy that I should give up the monopoly, of antimony ore ; cede the manorial rights over the diamond soil, and in short, without one stipulation, abandon the very revenue, which maintains the infant settlement, I cannot guess ; yet that is what he coolly asks. What does he propose in return for all these expected concessions ?—To admit me as a partner, and give me a share, when I have the whole ;—to lend me money upon my paying an interest of 5 per cent., and to send the “Ariel” here with a cargo to “*further my objects.*” How the deuce can the “Ariel” or her cargo, or the cargo of any number of ships affect me ? Trade is a matter best left to itself, and when we have returns to make, we shall command as many ships as we like. Had Mr. Wise viewed the question in a sensible and proper light, he would have seen that all my statements about the resources of the country and soil, are accompanied by remarks on the means by which they may be developed, and knowing the expences that I am necessarily put to, he ought to have provided for these, embarked capital to encourage industry, and run the same risk of success and failure that I am doing. On these terms, he would have found me ready enough to concede all rights, I may have, for what I might consider the good of the country. As it is, what does he do ? He comes to barter, like any other merchant, without seeking my

opinion or advice—without reflecting that there are plenty of other merchants, who would have been here before him, had the time been ripe. He has been most rash and precipitate ; and nothing shows it more, than that gingerbread nonsense of bringing Birmingham tokens with my crest, to pass current, here. You will not be surprised to learn that I have prohibited all tokens—base deteriorated tokens—as I found on inquiry, that they have been introduced too largely at Sambas and the other Dutch ports, much to the injury of trade, and at prices higher, than is proper. Introducing a copper currency is a serious matter, unless we are assured of its intrinsic value, and this value how am I to know ? At any rate, Wise should surely have asked me, before coining for my realms. It is really child's play, but I do not like sugar ! Let the British flag be once hoisted, and you will see trade and prosperity follow its footsteps ; but with my government, the development must be slow, and not very sure—depending as it does on my life ; for although I might have the country in perpetuity, would my successor be able to manage it ? I am not sanguine about the Government taking the place ; but they may give me some support. We shall see in time. I here finish my explanations, and shall pass on to our proceedings for the suppression of piracy. I told you in my last that I was coming over here in H. M. S. "Dido," with my friend Keppel. On our way over, I was proud to guide them to their prey, and we had

some little fighting with boats. She staid some time here, anchored off my house, and Keppel, as well as his officers, was delighted with the country, after making an excursion in the interior. He expressed himself astonished more especially, at the degree of power, which he saw me exercising daily. I had planned all sorts of pleasant trips, and was as gay and happy as a prince, with every chance of having the "Dido" backwards and forwards for the next two years, when a most untoward order came from the Commander-in-Chief for the "Dido" to join him in China. You may imagine how sorry I was, but orders must be obeyed, and the poor Didos obeyed with reluctance.

Before her departure Keppel attacked the piratical horde of Serebas—the horde which has so long been a curse to this coast, and whose depredations have been carried even to the coast of Celebes.—The boats of the "Dido" accordingly ascended the river, carried their forts, and penetrated upwards of one hundred miles up their river, giving them in a week's work, a lesson, which will prevent their piratical excursions for a year or two, and very likely bring them to their senses altogether. Keppel's management is excellent, it is to give a severe lesson, and subsequently to conciliate, if there be an opportunity. Amongst the Malays, piracy is a national feeling, it is a part of their code of honour, encouraged by their education and habits, and too often fostered by impunity. The object is to cor-

rect, as well as to punish, and the mode of doing so, is by going to their strong-holds. Merely hunting them at sea, is tedious, less efficient, and only causes them to baffle you, by changing their cruising-ground. Had Keppel remained, I should have hoped the best, now I am rather abroad again. I wrote Charlie, a long letter by the "Dido," and Keppel has promised to take every care of him, and should Keppel return here, he will get Charlie into his own ship. I have likewise written to —, though it is probable, ere this, he has started for England. I fear he has made a mess of it, and will now have no chance of his promotion. You see how long a letter I have written—I have no larger space for tittle tattle. God bless you, my dear Charles.

Believe me, yours ever affectionately,

J. BROOKE.

CHAPTER IX.

AUGUST, 1843, TO DECEMBER 22, 1843.

No. 48.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

August, 1843.

MY DEAR JACK,

WHEN I wrote last, I told you of the untoward accident which had happened to the "Samarang." I am now happy to add, that she has been got afloat after an immersion of eleven days, and it is hoped, without serious damage.

H. M. S. "Harlequin," and "Royalist" entered the river yesterday, the latter having made the passage to Singapore and back, in the short space of twelve days. Directly the "Samarang" can be refitted, (three weeks or a month,) we all sail in company to Borneo Proper. I do not exactly understand what there is to be done, beyond looking at the coal beds; but what

they want, they can obtain, and the show of force will make a proper impression. You will probably see in some of the papers, our doings at Serebas, and I assure you, the impression made, by the attack on that piratical tribe, is quite extraordinary. Keppel is a fine fellow, and I like him much, and always get on very well both with him and his officers. Even yet, I cannot help regretting that circumstances obliged him to return to China. Serebas I hope to pacify, and whilst they are deterred from committing any further acts of piracy, to bring them, at the same time, under the power of the Rajah Muda Hassim.

The difficulty, I have at present to contend against is the intrigue carried on by two Arab *sheriffs*, who are the fairest spoken fellows in the world, but who use the worst influence over the natives generally, and the Dyaks, particularly. I think, (my eyes being open,) that by making speeches fairer and softer than their own, I shall get proofs the most damning, of their countenance of piracy, and their advice to the Serebas people both before, and since their defeat, to resist to the last. Whether I can get such proofs or not, these two sheriffs must be routed out of this part of the country, for there is little hope of any pacification of the coast, until their vile influence is destroyed.

I mentioned in my last that, my impression is that Sir ———'s report is favourable. The letter I addressed to Sir ———, will I hope put him and the members of Government, in a proper mind as to

the resources and future prospects of this place. If the mad merchants and manufacturers like to send out their own productions here, let them, but they assuredly have not been misled by me. In faith, Jack, they want to make an El Dorado—an antimonial El Dorado—of this place, but with all their madness and keenness after gain, they will not, I observe, run the slightest risk of their dear pockets being touched, and whilst with the most praiseworthy magnanimity, they throw all the onus and expense upon my shoulders, they quietly vote away all means, by which I can support myself and my people.

In short, these wise people, with their wise schemes, would, situated as I am, ruin me, to obtain gains themselves, and then, when they had forced me to retire, they would find out, (and too late,) that the country returned to its former state of anarchy

Seriously, however, my friend, I wish you, whenever, and wherever you have an opportunity, to state plainly and roundly my opinion on this subject, viz; that the N. W. coast of Borneo offers no immediate opening for British manufacture, beyond the quantity yearly supplied from Singapore; that until the government be British, no merchants can trade with prospect of gain, amongst the natives; that Sarawak is in my hands, and so will continue; and that if they come, they must do so upon their own responsibility.

I will not be a party to any bubble, or encourage any foolish mania which the public may take into their

heads, and indeed I will oppose myself, as far as lies in my power, to both, for it has been objected by some good judges, that our former Governments are not sufficiently acquainted with the localities which they colonize ; and that the want of this knowledge leads to great expense, and often to great misfortune. Until I know the views of Government, I cannot offer more than a mere skeleton of *my* views ; for if I advocate the matter on a large scale, the Government may have no intentions of the kind, and if I show the way on a small scale, they may already have decided on the contrary. I wish, however, that the good folks would not take the bit into their own teeth, and raise their heads in the air, for this must produce mischief ultimately, for the reaction is always to be dreaded, when such false and exaggerated hopes are fostered. As far as any Government measures are concerned, I am quite easy. I have no right to demand any terms, or even to make any suggestions till called for ; and as I am not playing a game of mere personal aggrandisement, I can trust that the interests of the natives will be protected, should the Government decide on taking the place. It would amuse you to read Johnson's letters. He mounts on a Pegasus, and spurns the vile realities of this nether world. I laugh, and certainly get no letters so amusing as his. Whilst I, fully aware of the difficulties of my position, am forming plans to relieve the inevitable pressure of circumstances, he, with an unbounded faith, is dreaming of gold and diamonds,

and writes, as though I were proprietor of an entire English county. After all, it is delightful to have our friends encouraging us, and to me the buoyancy of a sanguine temperament urging me along, is advantageous. You know I am not sanguine. I see difficulties, and even amid the din and glare of pleasure, or of pomp, I should catch glimpses of old age, and death, passing from a wreath of flowers! How delighted was I to hear again from Jem, after a lapse in our correspondence of some years. I hope he may get on well, and that we may all have a chance some day of meeting. Shall we meet as we have met before?—when life had something to give, or, at any rate, something to grumble at. I could exclaim with Saul, in the tragedy, “*Oh miei passate giorni. Deh! dove or sete voi;*” but all exclamations and all regrets are fruitless, except such as teach us to be better boys in future. Writing about boys, I have got a sick one with me, of the name of Brereton, a distant relative of mine—he being a great nephew of the Bishop of Calcutta; a fine little fellow belonging to the “*Wanderer*,” but, at present, a supernumerary aboard the “*Samarang*.” I have got quite fond of him since he has been here; and somehow there is something in the position of a young volunteer of thirteen years of age, which rouses one’s kind feelings; so young, yet forced into manhood, to share privations and fatigues, when yet a boy. Since my nephew, Charlie, has embarked in the same line, I feel doubly inclined to be friendly with all the mids;

but Charlie is a healthy and hardy boy, whereas Brereton is weakly, and of a quiet and reflective turn. I was delighted with a letter I have just received from the youngster, an entire sheet full of scrawl. The "Wolverine" is the pride of the station; they borrow the officers' horses at Amoy, and hunt dogs; they have a good berth—a jolly good set of messmates—and what could *a man* wish for more. I am really in hopes of seeing "Wolverine" down here; it would give me great pleasure, for I should much like to see —, and to meet the youngster.

I have not mentioned Mr. Wise, because, I really have nothing to say very agreeable about him. I give him every credit for good intentions, but I cannot patronize his line of conduct, or prevent a suspicion that other motives besides those on the surface, are actuating him. He is, however, ignorant of my character, and, I can see, builds much upon my ignorance of business matters, and because I am no merchant, he concludes I have no sense. I may just mention that he has presented powers of attorney for my signature, which I shall not sign, and you may rest assured, I shall never mix myself up with any parties in pecuniary liabilities, or give away a greater degree of power, than I see fit, upon a clear understanding. I trust, that what I have written will moderate his over zeal, and prove to him that a wild country cannot be developed without pain and risk,—a risk, he by no means seems inclined to incur. My budget is nearly exhausted, so is my

paper, and I will only add my sense of how much I owe to Sir James Gordon, and to your lady and kind relatives. May every happiness attend you all, and, dear Jack, believe me ever to be,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 49.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Off Borneo Proper, Sept. 3, 1843.

MY DEAR JACK,

JUST before I left Sarawak, I got two letters by the June mail, but yours did not reach me.

The account of the "Samarang's" accident caused a large fleet to assemble in our river. H.M.S. "Samarang," H. M. S. "Harlequin," H. M. S. "Wanderer," H. M. Steamer "Vixen," H. C. Steamer "Diana," together with "Royalist" and "Ariel," lay at one time in the Sarawak river. "Samarang," "Harlequin," and "Vixen," with "Royalist" and "Ariel," are now here, much to the astonishment of the Borneons.

* * * *

I am glad to tell you that Keppel's proceedings on this coast have been highly approved of, by the admiral, Sir W—— P——, and he wishes, I am led to believe, to send him here again.

I made the passage from Sarawak in the "Sama-

rang," and to-morrow we meet the sultan, but for what express object, I am yet ignorant. I am trying to get some coal for the steamer, but although I may write or talk about the distracted, dissolute state of Borneo Proper, it is quite in vain to convince — that he cannot get coal just in the same way, as though laying in Portsmouth dock-yard. I have not yet seen the sultan, but I understand he is in a state of perturbation at the idea of so large a force, being so close to him. Pangeran Usop, who is a clever fellow, is at present absent. I know not whether to be glad or sorry for it. I am glad, so far that it will prevent the chance of any intrigue, being got up. I am more and more convinced, if we desire to have any thing to say to the good folks here, we must have some tangible person to represent the Government, and support him in his authority. At present there is no government; and really an idiot like the sultan can hardly be accounted a responsible agent, more especially in these times of monomania. I am writing in haste, and in the most desultory style, but really I have nothing to say, except that I sigh and long for a little peace and quiet; for ever since the capsize of the ship, I have lived in public. The officers of the —, I like much, and I have had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of H—— and S——, both excellent and gentlemanly fellows. I hear charming accounts of Charlie Johnson. He is a great pet of mine, and in especial favour at present, having written me a sheet

full of his boyish pranks and thoughts. Such a letter from a midshipman is a compliment I fully appreciate. I was in hopes Charlie would have been lent to the "Dido," and he absolutely came down from Amoy to Hong Kong to join her, but for some reason, at present unknown, he has returned to his brig, the "Wolverine."

I wrote you about young —, and I want you to find out whether he will be made a lieutenant when he passes. Keppel says he is certain of being made. If not, I must make some interest for him, for he is a great friend of mine, and deserves promotion. Mr. Wise's brig, the "Ariel," is here, and I hope will do very well trading. Her chief obstacle is that the managing man has such foolish notions, and expects such large profits as are unknown in the world now-a-days. These people have an idea that the Malays are savages, ignorant of the relative value of different articles of trade ; and they find by experience that they are a shrewd people, as well informed of prices as themselves, and regulated in a great measure by the price of goods at Singapore. Wise has made a sad mess of it ; but I hope his eyes are open long before this. I expect fully he will turn round and quarrel with me, because he has been imprudent and sanguine. If he does so, you must take care of —, who is at home, and may want your aid. He is an old servant, and, for the life I am leading, has some valuable qualities, which in my eyes fully balance his occasional excesses. Hart, whom

you doubtless remember, is *very ill* with a general dropsy. I have given the command of "Royalist" to young D——, and his cousin is a mate with him. Ruppel is a treasure; I trust, provided we are left to our own resources, that I shall be able to tempt him to stop. I have written to S—— to join me, provided his Canadian farm is a dead failure, and he can get nothing else to do. It is really a melancholy reflection, that with wealthy parents, a good family, and many personal good qualities, that he should have been launched into the world to labour at a farm. I have only room to wish you all sorts of good. Offer my kind regards to your family party, both at Greenwich and Bridport. Write to me very often, and believe me, dear Jack,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 50.

THE REV. CHARLES JOHNSON.

Borneo Proper, September 18, 1843.

MY DEAR CHARLES,

SARAWAK is mine in perpetuity, that is to say, the heir of my appointment succeeds when my perpetuity ceases. Good luck be with my heir, and I hope the luck will be equal even to your sanguine expectations, but you know how little I expect. You must bear in mind that this contract with the rajahs is subsequent to the period when the Government interested

itself in my situation, and therefore, that no claim can honestly be founded on it. Should the Government desire to take Sarawak, of course my claims will be in their hands for decision ; and even should the money laid out in the acquisition never be returned to me, I shall not grumble. Two evident reasons induce me to this. The first is, that no claims of mine can, or ought for an instant, to be put into competition with benefits which I sincerely believe will accrue to the natives ; and, secondly, nothing is so contrary to my feelings, and in reality so contemptible, as a man who aims at being of some benefit to his fellow-creatures. haggling for the price of what has been done voluntarily. The world may preach for ever, and we may listen to the soft voice of the syren, clinking yellow gold, yet there is a difference between the motives that prompt actions—the difference between porcelain and common hardware—one is right in the world's eye, the other really right ; the one gives riches, the other mental satisfaction. Yet, Charles, with all my philanthropy, the vision of wealth is pleasing ; it is pleasing to our ambition, it enlarges our sphere of action, it affords fair play on the theatre of life, but nevertheless, although I am poor, I would choose the latter, rather than the former satisfaction, and readily sacrifice both my ambition and my avarice at the shrine of pride. I tell you all this that you may not be sanguine ; but to comfort you, I send the transla-

tion of my agreement with the Sultan and the Pangeran Muda Hassim,* which you will doubtless read with much satisfaction.

The rest of my public views you will hear from many quarters, so I will only relate it in brief. Keppel's decisive conduct on the coast has been highly approved by the Commander-in-chief, and the local government of Singapore, and it is gratifying to me that he has gained credit, and his first lieutenant a chance of the step. I regret, however, that he has been sent to China, and is not likely to return, for I could act with him with the best effect. * * * I am now delayed here in order to get rid of the cargo of the "Ariel,"—that mad speculation of Wise's, entered on without taking my advice. So badly, indeed, has the plan been concocted, that they have not a competent man of business, or a linguist with them, and the two partners are so opposed to each other that they are not on speaking terms! I hope to write more letters,

* The agreement referred to:—

"His Majesty the Sultan of Borneo, grants to James Brooke, Esq., the country and government of Sarawak. James Brooke, Esq., consents to govern according to the *ondong ondong* (i.e. the native law), and to be responsible for the good government of the place, upon the understanding that no person or persons are to disturb the said country of Sarawak; and it is to be understood that this grant extends only to the country of Sarawak, and that James Brooke, Esq., is not to govern any other dependency of Borneo. And it is further agreed that no European is to hold the government of Sarawak without permission from the sultan, or before such permission has been obtained.—Borneo, August 1, 1842."

and to give some of the party further news, so my dear Charles, I conclude for the present, with many kind loves and wishes.

Yours, ever affectionately,

J. BROOKE.

No. 51.

MRS. BROOKE.

"Royalist," September 24, 1843.

MY LOVED MOTHER,

It is a dead calm, with a broiling sun over head, and we lay lazily rolling on the sea between Borneo and Sarawak. I am very anxious to arrive at the latter place, to enjoy a little rest and quiet, and to get out of the "Royalist," and the crowd she contains; yet I am afraid I must for a few days more arm myself with patience, as the want of wind delays a quick passage.

I have written so much about my own affairs to others, that I shall not dwell on them to you, and indeed there is little or nothing to tell, and less to do. At present, indeed, I am laying on my oars, until the Government decide how much, or how little it intends doing, and how far I am to become a party concerned in the arrangements. In the mean time I endeavour to gain all the information I can, and to lay matters in the fairest possible train by keeping up an interest and influence over Pangeran Muda Hassim. I do not find much difficulty in this task, for he is well inclined to

the English, and desires us to protect and support him, and will pay in territory for this assistance. Besides this, my sway over him is very great, and just such a sway as a moderately firm mind and firm conduct, with conciliation, will ever acquire over a vacillating and timid person.

I wish you could know the Pangeran Budrudeen, who with the amiable and easy temper of his brother Muda Hassim, combines decision and abilities quite astonishing in a native prince, and a directness of purpose seldom found in an Asiatic. As a companion, I find him superior to most of those about me, and there is something particularly interesting, in sounding the depths and the shallows of an intelligent native mind, and observing them freed from the trammels of court etiquette. I have, however, one or two good and intelligent companions. First is Ruppel, whom I formerly knew in Bridport, a man highly respectable and pleasing, with a cool temper and matured judgment. Next is Steward, Mr. Wise's partner, who proves to be an old schoolfellow, and is a gentlemanly and adventurous person, with good temper, good sense, and conciliating manners. * * * This point is essential to the good government of natives, and on this point it is that most Europeans are so grossly wanting. They always take their own customs, feelings, and manners, and in a way force the natives to conform to them, and never give themselves the trouble of ascertaining how far these manners are repugnant to the natives. I

have seen so much of this, and the pig-headed obstinacy with which it is maintained, that had I power I would be careful in the selection of persons to govern a new native country, and very severe upon any faults of harshness and severity. When we desire to improve and elevate a people, we must not begin by treating them as an inferior race ; and yet this is too generally the style of our Indian rulers, with a few brilliant exceptions. Sir Stamford Raffles, Mr. Crauford, and Colonel Farquhar, especially the former, are still remembered with affection by the elder natives, and in places where they were unknown they are respected and talked of. Well, well, we shall see what the future brings for Sarawak, and I am sure of one thing, that exaggerated hopes and statements must lead to disappointment and reaction. I now often think of, and wish for a return to England ; and my desire, loved mother, to embrace you again seems to acquire force, as my position appears more settled. The world, to me, would be a gloomy one without you, and all my reminiscences of the past, all my best affections, are centred with you. What should I ever have been without your love and your teaching ? Nature, and books, and flowers are doubly loved, because I have enjoyed them in your society so often, and now as my morning nosegay is brought me, I revert to you as naturally, as though you were near to enjoy them with me. The world may offer ambition and riches and troops of *soi-disant* friends, but sure am I, it offers few pure affections, and the more we see of it, the more we

cling to those we have loved always. No one has less reason to complain than myself on this score, for I retain most of the friends of youth, and still feel for them, and believe they feel towards me the warmest regard—and the world in general, the self-interest world—has not as yet used me ill, and therefore I have no right to abuse it. Do you remember, when young at Bath, that people did not *understand* me; now everybody understands me, and I really think I have acquired, or am acquiring, the most *plausible* and *pleasing* manners!! I am not the least shy or reserved to outward appearance, and I really do all I can to shake myself clear of this inherent complaint. Restraint and company I bear far better than formerly, and if I get the morning to myself, I am content to devote the rest of my time to any body or everybody, to talk sense or nonsense at their pleasure, and to receive or to impart as much information as possible. My health is surprisingly good. I really never ail, nor do I require doctors or physic, and this blessing I duly appreciate, though I may not guard it so carefully as I ought; my habits I can say nothing in praise of, for I keep very bad hours, seldom rising before nine, and seldom sleeping till two in the morning. Night, however, is the time when business is best conducted with the native rajahs, for it is the time when they live, and are really awake. I read, my loved mother, with regret of your ailment, yet I cannot but rejoice to think that you have periods when life is sunny and enjoyable, and that your ills are not of a serious

character. I am very glad that Martha is with you again, for she is gentle and sensible. Pray give my remembrances to her, and thank her for her addition to the "Fancy Fair." I am sorry to think I have nothing to send her as a token of my good wishes, but my country produces no shawls, nor silks, nor bonnets: you never mention poor Charlton, yet I want to hear of the dear old creature; poor old Anne must be immortal, for she had arrived at the *verge* of life (apparently) twenty years ago. * * * I will just leave a small space for a line to be added at the latest date; and believe me, dearest mother, ever to be

Your affectionate son,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. *September 29, 1843.*—I have nothing to add but melancholy intelligence; poor Hart died some days before my return. Thus an old and faithful servant has fallen a victim to intemperance, which habit has grown on him since he got command of the schooner. How little do we know what is good for us. This command was what the poor fellow greatly desired. Under the circumstances it is better he died than lived, for I fear he would have lived a life of pain and poverty. Love to all.

Yours, dearest mother,

Affectionately ever,

J. BROOKE.

No. 52.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Sarawak, October 4, 1843.

MY DEAR JACK,

I BELIEVE I told you in my last of the "Samarang's" departure from Borneo Proper. I passed some days in the city, and quitted it with a firm conviction that, unless something be done, they will very shortly be at loggerheads. The sultan, as I have before told you, is an idiot; Pangeran Usop is aiming at the throne; and, unless Muda Hassim returns, will probably obtain his object, and at any rate will try, unless overawed. I hope, if anything is to be done in the vicinity of Borneo Proper, that a good locality will be selected. Labuan and Moara are the best spots; the latter rather small, but in other respects excellent. Labuan is well situated likewise, and ——— seemed to prefer it, but his examination was very cursory. I was convinced, during my stay, of the great riches of the place; and the countries to the northward and eastward are reported to abound with rich produce. I became acquainted with an Arab sheriff, who is constantly trading on the north-east of Borneo, and he spoke of the trade as being plenty and profitable. He had often visited the fine harbour of Sandukam. The natives he reports as a harmless and poor race; and the Suluks, who frequent the coast and expel the Borneons thence, are, I understand, not a bad people. Of course a post near Borneo would attract and open this trade, which now does not find its way to Singapore. This same

sheriff told me for certain that a European lady or woman was in captivity at Abuan, to the N.W. of Borneo. It is so shocking to think of, that I have commissioned him to redeem her. *coûte qui coûte*. It is a base mode of redemption, and vastly unknightly, but the only mode to effect the object, unless some other gallant captain, like Keppel, will come and help me. A captive damsel ! Does it not conjure up images of blue eyes and auburn hair of hyacinthine flow ? and after all, a fat old Dutch frau may be the reality ! Poor creature ! even though she be old, and fat, and unamiable, and ugly, it is shocking to think of such a fate, as a life passed amid such savages.

Poor Captain Hart died during my absence, having before we sailed been sent ashore ill in Sarawak. He was carried off by a dropsy, brought on by his intemperance. I have lost an old and faithful servant, and a good one, till he took to drinking. Sarawak is quite quiet ; and being fast month with the Malays, we have very little to do. I am quite delighted to get back to my quiet mode of life, and want no more disturbance until April next, when I shall be quite ready to become again a volunteer in any one of our boats that comes pirate hunting. * * * * In a few days I propose making an excursion in the interior, and passing some days at my cottuge at Sintah, the Diamond River. The scenery there is attractive. Cliffs and mountains and clear sparkling water, and fine trees ; and I revel there in visions of the beautiful. The " Ariel " is now here, and has made a mess of the

whole business, as was to be expected. The speculation was entered on with the expectation that I should become a partner, and having failed in this point, the concern will be broken up. It was weakly conceived, and worse executed. The cargo is unfit (the greater part) either for this market or that of Singapore. The partners disagree to such a degree, that a separation is unavoidable. * * * * Wise has shown himself very foolish, and in nothing more than fancying that I could be tempted by offers of profit to enter into a trading concern. I dislike it sufficiently, even *en prince*, as I conduct my monopoly; and supposing the Government will not take any measures, I shall certainly *let* my monopoly of ore for a given sum yearly. You must not fancy that I say little about the country, for the truth is, I have nothing to say, as we are living in a state of profound quiet; and now I have got rid of my bad population, I have not even the trouble of dispensing justice; as, for the last four months I have not even had one serious case of theft brought before me. When the "Samarang's" stores (and they were tempting) lay exposed in every direction, there was not a case of complaint against a native for theft, and the officers all agreed that the population was the most honest imaginable. The Dyaks (the poor oppressed Dyaks) are really quite fat and happy looking, and improving yearly. Do you know I have committed one great mistake in my printed letter, in saying that they are free from prejudices, whereas I find that they have plenty of prejudices. This I have

in part corrected in the paper on the subject. I am anxious now to get an opening to the Kayans ; and oh ! if I had the means at my disposal, how I should rejoice at any opportunity of crossing the island from west to east. However, these are but schemes at present—shadows of the future—dim shadows of a doubtful future ; doubtful in a worldly sense. My domestic news may be briefly given. Ruppel, I regret to say, is at present laid up with chicken-pox, or a mild description of small-pox. He is better, and in no danger. Douglas has got command of the schooner, which would be an excellent thing provided it was permanent. Peter is well, and steady, and I hope will go on so ; but it is impossible to do anything to better him, as he cannot read or write. I am thinking of acquiring or rather perfecting my education by reading Malay. I read now badly, and I want to be clever in the vernacular. I need say very little about your domestic circle, for you are sure to be happy, and the chances are to be well. I should be very glad to be acquainted with Sir James and his family. Whoever knows the naval history of our country is acquainted with him publicly already, and must feel proud of his exploits. Only a day or two ago I was reading in James* the account of the “ Seahorse’s ” ascents of the Potomac. I have nothing more to say, except, dear Jack, that, with every kind wish, I am,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

* James’s ‘ Naval History.’

No. 53.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Sarawak, November 10, 1843.

MY DEAR JACK,

I PROPOSED sending you a letter, but it must be curtailed to a mere note, acknowledging your long and kind communication of the 3rd July last. The reasons are, that for a few days past I have had the ague, or the shakes as they derisively call the complaint in China, and though I have managed to overcome it, yet only about an hour since, when in the bathing-room, the floor gave way, and *horrible to relate*, I was precipitated into the pool below, followed by four heavy water-jars, or their debris. I kept my nose out of water, and thus called for assistance, and was picked out a little bruised, scraped, and cut, but not materially the worse from my tumble.

There is not much to answer in your letter, as you were at a stand for Sir ——'s report; and I am now at a stand for a decision on the report. Let us therefore be quiet, and allow things to take their course, only you must endeavour to steer the craft at home, whilst I do so here—remember, however, that a small helm is the right thing. In other words, let us not be over anxious, or appear so. I believe the case may rest on its own merits, and the results must depend on the wisdom of those who carry out what I have begun. There is a point which I would not pass,

not for the favour or patronage of all the porcelain upon earth, and I believe any one who solicits importunately, has passed that point, or is in danger of doing so. I would not therefore have you do, what I would not do myself. My coming home at present is out of the question, for you know not how shy and cunning the natives are, and those of other rivers, whom I now rule, would make it a handle to disturb all I have done. One of their modes of intimidating the Dyaks is, that I am a bird of passage; they themselves, permanently attached to the soil—"Wait," they say, "till he flies away, and then—" There is, no doubt, a fear of a foreign nation stepping in, provided we are very dilatory, and I believe the chance of such an event now or hereafter, has its due effect upon our Government. I am too good a subject to be the agent, unless our own country positively would not take any interest, and that I was very hard pushed myself. Ruppel heard from some persons, that provided England declined, that if I offered the place to —, they would accept it, as — was seeking a colony, or colonies in the East. What is to be apprehended, however, is that a foreign power (France or Holland) might step into the field with some thousands, and, in spite of my influence, might purchase obstructive rights. Money with these rajahs, especially the sultan, will do any thing. I do not mean vast sums, but a few thousands only. I hope in a short time to have a brig of war or two, to operate against the pirates

and the pirate protectors. Sir William Parker wrote me a very flattering letter, thanking me for my attention and assistance on the occasion of the "Samarang" disaster. Ruppel is an excellent fellow. Wise is coming round, he finds that he is in the wrong box. I agree as to his character generally, but he is useful and active for drudgery ; the fear is that he may be too active. I shall be delighted when the day arrives, that I no longer am a trader, and a subject of contention amongst these commission hunters. I rejoice to hear such excellent accounts of you all. May you be as happy, dear Jack, as I wish you. McKenzie will be able to afford you information on the details of Sarawak. Jem I had a letter from, dated in May. My kind regards to all, and believe me

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

Ruppel sends kind regards ; he says he has not once heard from Bridport since he left, and only waits for receipt of letters to answer them.

No. 54.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Sarawak, November 14, 1843.

MY DEAR JACK,

I LATELY wrote, and should not have troubled you with another communication but for certain reports in the papers, and at Manilla, of the intentions of the French Government in this quarter. These rumours state that there is an intention of taking Suluk (or Sulu) under French protection, and that for this purpose three French vessels of war are in these seas, and three more expected—their head-quarters being Manilla. Captain Rosamel, of the “Danaide” corvette, was out for several years with a roving commission, and passed a great portion of his time at Manilla, and what he might be doing, it is difficult to surmise, as it is rather a distant point whence to watch British operations in China.

I conceive the possibility of the French Government taking such a step beyond question; as, from their present policy, they seem inclined to take native states under their protection, (to prevent other nations occupying the field,) and, in the long run, these protected states will become French, just when, and how it is their pleasure. The possession of Sulu by the French, would materially interfere with any operations of the English on the coast of Borneo and cramp our trade,

as well as limit our territorial extension when necessary. If, therefore, we act, we ought to act without unnecessary delay.—Take Sarawak and Labuan, or Labuan alone, and push our interest along the coast to Sulu, and from Sulu towards New Guinea, gaining an influence with such states (and acquiring dormant rights) as are clear of the Dutch on the one hand, and of the Spaniards on the other. Celebes should not be excluded, but we should foster the Bugis trade, and protect it against Dutch exactions, and allow the independent native states of the island fair play, which they are at present debarred from. I mention these views, to you, because you may find an opportunity of stating them in high quarters.

You will be pleased to hear that Sir William Parker sent me officially a letter of thanks, for my exertions in behalf of the "Samarang,"—kind and flattering. I am going over to Singapore, and shall probably meet him there; and I shall be glad to meet him, because I like what I hear of his character. I received a letter from my friend Keppel, from Macao, and was glad to learn that he may probably be sent again to the Straits in his "Dido." She is, without exception, the handsomest vessel I ever saw. Keppel is well suited to act with me, for he will take the trouble to make himself acquainted with local politics. I have little else to tell you of the politics of Sarawak; except that I have been enacting a little diplomacy with the native Malay states, in the interior of the Pontiana

river, the mouth of which is hermetically sealed by the Dutch. As one day's walk by land conducts from our waters to theirs, I propose opening a trade, and you will see by their letters how much they desire it, and what good friends we are. Could I get a little time to myself I should meet them, which they are anxious for. My next-door neighbour, Sheriff Sahib, is a rascal, and I must rout him out of his piratical haunt. His place, Sadung, is a sort of nucleus for pirates, where they gain information, and where they plot their excursions. He tries to screen himself, but I have evidence enough to hang half a dozen men, and shall use it against him; nothing Muda Hassim desires so much. I enclose you the copy of a letter from the Foreign Office, in reply to Captain Page's memorial, and I really shall be most sorry if harsh and abrupt measures are used, after a lapse of years, and after the Government authorizing — to meet the sultan on friendly terms. Nothing could be better than this claim, held in terrorem over them, or, if necessary or desirable, compounded for Labuan. Properly managed, the rod might be applied with effect; but rashly used, it could only weaken our influence—if influence we desire to have.

I told you in my last that I had been unwell for a fortnight: I am now better, and the trip to Singapore will re-establish my health. News I have none, and but little time, if I had, to write it. You shall hear again

soon, and in the meantime, with my kind regards to you and yours, ever, my dear Jack,

Affectionately yours,

J. BROOKE.

P. S. Let me add what will please you to hear, as it has pleased me to effect. Two years ago I prevented the Dyak tribes making war, or taking heads within my territory. Now I have advanced a step, and have threatened to*withdraw my protection, from such tribes as continue addicted to head-hunting excursions. In another year or two, I hope openly to put an end to their right of making war, one tribe on another; but I desire first to increase the difficulties, until head-taking becomes nearly a dead letter. These poor Dyaks are great favourites with everybody who has visited them, and now they are happy here. It maketh me complacent to witness it.

No. 55.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Singapore, December 22, 1843.

MY DEAR JACK,

SINCE the first* part of this letter I have crossed from Sarawak to Singapore, making a wretched passage in the "Ariel," thus missing the January mail.

* This letter was enclosed in the last.

You will see from the enclosed translations the tenor of my correspondence with the rajahs of the interior, and they will prove to you the impolicy of Dutch restrictions, and the facility with which our trade might be extended, wherever the natives of the interior have a safe and free communication with the coast. On my arrival I had the pleasure of receiving your kind letter of August the 7th, written just as you were starting for Scotland. I agree entirely in all your views, and thank you a thousand times for not thrusting my affairs before the Government needlessly. The Government is now aware that any exaggerated statement about the coal did not proceed from me ; and for the rest, they may, if they think fit, receive every information I can supply.

I do not wish to appear as a suppliant, and I am convinced the views I am bringing to their notice will be more beneficial, if effected, to them, than to me. I desire greatly, to see Sarawak placed beyond the thousand evils of Malay misrule, and the chance of Dutch mortification ; but to attain this object I will not swerve from the path of my own will, or mortify my own pride.

Wise is certainly very sanguine, and I do not doubt sees vast advantages for himself, as well as for me ; and all I can say is, I hope they will be realized. I have, in my letters, clipped his flight already, and in my next, shall caution him not to act without my previous

sanction. I agree on the whole in your estimate of his character, but he is stirring, active, and intelligent, and fitted to *drive forward* the details of business when necessary. For these qualities I desire to make him useful, and I feel some compunction in quarrelling with him. His tone about you is quite altered, and should he fail seeing you, it will be from the workings of false shame. The truth is, that Mr. Wise thought me of more pliable materials, than he finds on trial to be the case, and he had resolved in his own mind to be my sole keeper and guardian.

I heard from Keppel a short time since, who had it from Sir —— himself, that he had recommended my being made consul. Keppel told the knight that he would find I should refuse the appointment; and from what I wrote you before, you will likewise conclude that I shall do so. Should that line of policy be pursued, Ruppel would be a very proper person for the appointment, and would accept it, and be glad of a small salary.

The more I think of it, the less I like the proposition; for, laying aside all other considerations, it must materially injure me in the natives' eyes, for they are quick enough to know and inquire, the relative ranks bestowed by different situations.

* * * * *

I am told that Mr. Crawford prefers Labuan to

Sarawak ; I believe — will be of the same opinion, and many persons will agree with them in selecting a small island in preference to being on the main. There is no reason, indeed, that Sarawak and Labuan should be compared, but it is a very short-sighted view which ties us up in small islands.

The mainland affords (with an equal expense) the power of opening new resources from the interior ; of benefiting the aborigines ; of affording to British capital the advantage of a fine soil as well as commerce ; and of rapidly increasing the number of inhabitants, and bringing the country to a degree of civilization never to be obtained by sticking ourselves on an island on the coast. I shall not enlarge on this topic, as your mind will catch the distinction quite sufficiently for my purpose.

* * * * *

You will enjoy yourself much in Scotland. I should like to feel the bracing breezes of the north in your company. How much obliged I am to your wife for all the trouble she takes, and the kind offices she does in my behalf. I shall look forward one day to thanking her in person, and becoming known to her is one of the pleasures I anticipate on my return to England.

* * * * * I heard last night from Sarawak, and am glad to tell you that fifty women and children of the Dyaks have been wrung from the fears of

Sheriff Sahib: fifty more yet remain. You may imagine how much pleased I am in restoring these poor creatures to their husbands and their homes. Adieu.

Ever yours affectionately,

J. B.

P. S. S—— will be here in a few days, and the “Dido”—the well-beloved “Dido”—will follow in January. I regret to say, however, that my friend Keppel will probably return overland, in consequence of the death of his father-in-law. I am pretty well again. Adieu.

The two following papers, showing the heads of an interview with Muda Hassim, in 1841—and the rough draft of a written law, Sir James Brooke proposed to issue for the state of Sarawak, in 1842,—are too interesting to be omitted.

HEADS OF AN INTERVIEW WITH MUDA HASSIM,
1841.

1st. About the debt to me. Say that I do not wish to be repaid by the rajah and his brothers, for if they paid me, they would be poorer, because they would have to pay the persons who worked the stones,* and what advantage would it be to me, to take money from my brothers.

2nd. About sending Malays and Dyaks to work ore.

* The antimony ore.

This proposition came from —, and *he* knows that the effect of it would be to *unsettle the country* again. Whilst the Pangeran honours me with his confidence, I will never listen to such a proposition ; and when *it is done*, I shall consider that I no longer hold the government. And why should they desire to force the Dyaks to work, when it is only to pay me, what I do not want to be paid ?

I can never consent to this proposition, because I have issued a law, and I have told all men, that they were free to work or not, at their pleasure ; and if I once deceive them, they will never trust me again.

The Dyaks are *very averse* to the work, and unless they are brought by force will not come. They are entirely ruined, and it is only from their confidence in me, that they have lately left their jungles, and are building houses and settling themselves. If, after telling them they need not work ore, unless they liked, I now force them to the work, what will they think ? will it be right ? The probable consequences will be, that they will disperse, as before, and by hiding in the jungle, avoid being caught. Now they are happy, and will improve, and in the course of a few years cultivate rice largely—and rice is more valuable than ore : with the Malays it is much the same, only worse. They are obedient to the rajah and my government, but if, after we have given a law, permitting them to work for their own profit, we make them work for us, or to work without being paid *full value*, their minds will be

unsettled, they will lose confidence in their own datus, and in me, &c.; if they do not like the work, they will walk away to Pankalong Nebong.

—, when he made this proposition, knew the mischief it might do, and that it would weaken the rajah's power and mine; and he thinks, if he can get his finger in, his whole body will follow.

When he held the government, he went himself with the Orang Rajah di Gadong, to collect men to work the stones: but how did it end? he could neither get Malays or Dyaks. What he would not do himself, when he had the government, he wants me to do now. In short, he wants to disturb the rajah and myself, and he knows this is the best way of doing it.

3rd. Any other measures I do not care to meet, whether for war or peace; but on any question with the rajah or his brothers, my heart is unsettled, because it may affect our good understanding, and they may be (*kechil hati*,) out with me.

The great misfortune is, that *we* are poor—the country new, and his family very numerous (*i. e.* he has thirteen brothers). A new country can never support so many rajahs. Only ten thousand pikuls of ore will sell in a year—if we sell twenty thousand the second year, we shall have none bought, and the price will be low: the Chinese must be supported, and have large advances, which they can partly pay in stones. Men say the Chinese have gold, and that they take it to Sambas, but it is not true. The Chinese require

to be fostered, if not they will run the country. If the rajah's brothers pay for the ore, the profit will be a mere nothing. If I give them goods at Singapore prices, to buy stones with, then to me there will be no profit on the stones, and it will not be a *small quantity*. The only way that I can see of making the rajah's brothers comfortable, is by supporting them from Samarahan, and if the rajah held Samarahan strictly, and prevented — and others from taking every thing of value, the rajah's brothers might be comfortable. About the stones the Chinese owe the rajah, I will speak to Atien, to pay as soon as they can ; but these stones will be of no use, if the rajah *pays me* with them. When the Chinese pay the rajah his seven hundred or eight hundred pikuls, I will buy them from him ; let our old debt remain—for I do not wish to be paid by him or his brothers—*till they are all rich*. Strictly speaking, there can be no *debt between us*. I only wish that he was very rich, or that I was richer.

About the debt from —, I have no such feelings ; and though I cannot ask him to pay *the ore*, because he cannot get it as formerly, yet it is just and right he should give me back the goods he took, or pay me the Singapore prices, with an addition for the freight here. This I will ask of — and the others, but the good ones may take their time.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF THE COUNTRY OF SARAWAK.

THE PEOPLE.

The Orang Bunsu are governed by the Patingi.

The Awang Awang are governed by the Bandar.

The Hamba Rajah are governed by the Tumangong.

The right hand, as well as the left hand rivers, and the various Dyak tribes residing in them, with the exception of Ningy on the right hand, and Li Nankan and Thana on the left, are governed by the Patingi.

Lingey, a Dyak tribe, on the right hand river ; and Li Nankan and Thama, Dyak tribes, on the left hand river, are governed by the Bandar. Towards the sea, and the Dyak tribes there residing, are governed by the Tumangong.

The Bunsu, Awang Awang, and Hamba Rajah, are free people under the government of Borneo, and can on no account be made slaves.

The Dyaks, or Orang Benna, are likewise under the government of Borneo, ruled by the Patingi, the Bandar, and the Tumangong ; and on no account can they be made slaves, neither they, their wives, nor children.

The Chinese are foreigners allowed to settle in the country, and cannot govern or interfere with the Malays or Dyaks ; nor can they take lands already occupied ; nor can they prevent the people of the country working.

MURDER AND ROBBERY.

Murder is to be punished by death. Stabbing, or cutting, or wounding with crease, or any other weapon maliciously, is to be fined 60 reals 6 sukus ; failing the payment of which in four days from the time of sentence, the loss of the right hand.

The person who shall wound another shall be charged with his support, till he be recovered, or in case of the person being disabled, as long as he shall live.

In many cases, provocation may have been given,
 . . . punishment will be lowered or remitted according to circumstances, . . . accompanied by violence (rampas) to be redeemed . . . tion of the property, or a full equivalent . . . 60 reals 6 sukus ; failing the . . . in four days, the loss of the right . . . and sold as slaves, whether Malays, Chinese, or Dyaks, must be restored, as no equivalent can be accepted.*

A period of twenty days will be allowed from the time of sentence, for the restoration of the person seized, and the payment of the fine of 60 reals 60 sukus ; failing which, the punishment is the loss of the right hand, as before.

No person convicted of robbery can be allowed to go at large, till the fine be paid and the property restored ; and according to circumstances, they will be chained

* A portion of the original is torn away.

or otherwise confined, upon the responsibility of their relatives.

Robbery committed in a dwelling-house is to be re-deemed by the restoration of the property, or a full equivalent, and the payment of 30 reals 3 sukus ; failing which in four days from the time of sentence by the loss of the left hand.

Simple theft, without the house, by a fine of 10 reals, or less, according to circumstances, and the restoration of the property, or a full equivalent. In case of failure, the perpetrator to be chained, or otherwise confined, till the amount be paid.

In case a robber enter a dwelling-house by night, and be killed by the inmates in the act of stealing, an inquiry will take place ; and if it be shown that the person killed was there for a bad purpose, and refused to answer when called upon, the person or persons who kill him, will be held guiltless.

Property of all sorts, which has been stolen within the country, will still belong to the person from whom it has been taken, and no other person can, by buying it, set up any claim to it, nor can he demand anything in lieu of it.

Stolen property must be given up to the governor, or datus when demanded, in order that it may be returned to the persons who have lost it ; and the person who may have bought it, must recover the amount, as a debt from the thief, or other person who sold it to him.

Should the thief escape, or not be discovered, the

person who has bought the property, fairly or unfairly, must bear the loss.

It therefore behoves all men, before purchasing property, to be sure that it is fairly come by, and not to have any dealings with persons of bad character.

Any person who receives, or sells, or buys stolen property, knowing it has been stolen, will be fined, according to circumstances, 30 reals 3 sukus, or a lesser sum; and any person who sends others to steal, will be punished the same as the thief.

DEBT AND USURY.

When persons lend money, a moderate rate of interest may be charged, so that the lender may derive a fair profit, and the borrower be benefited by the money lent. The rate of interest of one suku a-month for every real, as lately charged, is contrary to the law of the prophet (hukum sherar), the custom of the country, and fair dealing, and must never in future be heard of.

The rate of interest is, therefore, fixed at 1 real in twelve months for 5 reals lent; or 20 reals in twelve months for 100 reals lent.

No person can charge a higher rate of interest, and parties making an agreement for more, the agreement will not be held binding, and the person who lends the money will be fined 5 reals for each hundred reals so lent.

All persons who lend money must receive it from the persons who borrow, and they cannot enforce payment from their relatives.

Parties lending and borrowing money must make an agreement in writing, or before witnesses ; and a person lending money without an agreement in writing, or before witnesses, cannot recover the amount, as it cannot be allowed, that one person can charge another with a debt without proof.

Persons who owe money must pay, and if they have not the means, they must sell their property, and pay as much as they can ; but the creditor cannot ask more, nor can he take their persons, or their wives, or their children, or their working tools, so as to prevent their gaining a livelihood.

A person in debt, who cannot pay, must make a fair arrangement with his creditor, so that he may pay him by slow degrees ; and in making this arrangement, the creditor cannot take from the debtor, the portion which is necessary to support his family.

If the creditor and debtor cannot agree, they must refer to the *datus*, who will fix how much is to be paid each season, till the debt be discharged.

This is the custom of the country, and as the Orang Bunsu, Awang Awang, and Hamba Rajah, cannot become slaves ; they cannot be treated as slaves, on account of their debts.

The Dyaks are to be treated in the same way.

Gambling debts cannot be enforced, nor can the

party winning insist upon payment ; for as gambling is a crime (baram) the government (parentah) will not listen to any claim arising from gambling ; and the winner must bear the loss, if the loser does not please to pay.

GAMBLING.

Gambling is forbidden by the prophet, and contrary to the laws, and many quarrels and disturbances arise in consequence. All persons are, therefore, warned and exhorted to forbear from the fault. If any disturbances arise from gambling, the parties will be more severely punished, on account of their having played contrary to the laws.

BOATS AND CANOES.

Boats and canoes which go adrift, and are picked up, must be taken to the Patingi's wharf, so that their proper owners may claim them.

Any person who shall pick up a boat, and hide it, or take it for his own use, will be fined the same as though he had stolen it. No person is, on any account, to take another person's boat or canoe without the owner's leave ; and in future they cannot say they picked it up, as in that case they must bring it to the Patingi's wharf, and tie it there.

All the laws and customs will remain the same as before ; and persons must know that they cannot take upon themselves to govern (pegang bechara), or to fine, or to seize any other person on any account.

If any person meets with wrong, they are to state it to the governor, or the datus, that a proper inquiry may take place, and the affair be settled ; but if they insist upon settling it themselves, without the consent of the other party, they will be in fault and punished.

These laws and customs will be enforced on all occasions.

This was the commencement of a simple code of laws, written in the year 1842. Before these laws were promulgated, I, on reflection, resolved not to impose them, as they might, in portion, be unjust or inapplicable, through my ignorance of the native customs, and calculated to tie me down in particular cases, which they might not meet. For these reasons, I followed, in preference, the plan of doing justice to the best of my ability in each particular case, adhering, as nearly as possible, to the native law or custom. In this way, we shall gain precedents, which themselves will form the basis of law.

The barbarous custom of cutting off a man's hand is still a law, but, of course, never enforced, whipping being substituted.

END OF VOL. I.

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